

**ESTABLISHING A REPUTATION.  
THE RECEPTION OF SÎBawayh's BOOK**

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**Establishing a Reputation.  
The Reception of Sîbawayh's Book**

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*In gratitude  
to my mother  
and to the memory of my father*



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## PREFACE

The aim of this study is to provide a reconstruction of some aspects of the early history of Arabic grammar. Without much difficulty, the Arab grammatical tradition can be straightforwardly traced back to the time of al-Mubarrad. This grammarian, who died at the end of the third/ninth century, left us, among other works, a voluminous grammar of Arabic, the *Muqtaḍab*. From the *Muqtaḍab* onwards, we have an unbroken chain of extant grammatical works. These works offer a clear picture of the way grammatical studies developed.

Arab grammatical tradition can be characterized by two main features. First, central to all Arab linguistic studies is one single book which dates from the end of the second/eighth century and which was written by the Persian grammarian Sībawayh. Secondly, Arab tradition emphasizes the existence of two competing schools of grammar: the school of Basra and the school of Kufa.

Sībawayh's book was probably the first Arabic grammar to include all important aspects of morphology and syntax. Since the days of al-Mubarrad, Arab grammarians based their studies on this book which they simply called "the book" or "Sībawayh's book": *Kitāb Sībawayh*. The continuity between Sībawayh on the one hand and the later grammarians on the other suggests that his book was accepted from the very beginning as the grammatical analysis *par excellence* and that it did not need any critical comments or additions.

In Sībawayh's time, Arab grammatical studies were practiced mainly in the two Iraqi cities of Basra and Kufa. As just stated, these towns allegedly represented two competing grammatical schools. Sībawayh was considered to be the founder of the Basran school. From the second half of the third/ninth century, grammarians gradually moved to the capital of the Islamic empire, Baghdad. The "Basran" grammarian al-Mubarrad and his "Kufan" contemporary Tha'lab, according to tradition ardent rivals, both lived and worked in Baghdad.

The two characteristics of Arab grammatical tradition mentioned above emerge from the texts that originated after the death of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab. However, the extant grammatical texts of an earlier date – though few in number – give reason to question the accuracy of the picture presented in the later sources. Attempting to reconstruct the early period of Arabic grammar, the present study pivots on the following two questions: (1) How did the early Arab grammarians receive and comment

on Sībawayh's book and (2) was the notion of two distinct grammatical schools based on "historical reality"?

We propose to answer these questions from a perspective which centres on al-Mubarrad for several reasons. Grammatical texts which came into being prior to his time do not attest to Sībawayh's authority nor to a Basra/Kufa dichotomy while, conversely, the texts dating from after his death undeniably do. Al-Mubarrad was one of the very few grammarians who wrote a critical commentary on Sībawayh's book. In his *Radd 'alā Kitāb Sībawayh* "Refutation of Sībawayh's book", al-Mubarrad presented about one hundred and thirty grammatical issues on which he disagreed with his predecessor. Al-Mubarrad is said to have retracted many of his critical remarks later in life. He subsequently became one of the best known transmitters of Sībawayh's book. Moreover, the fact that he wrote a biographical work on Basran grammarians seems to indicate that he played an important role in the creation of a specific Basran grammatical tradition.

To know more about al-Mubarrad's critical attitude and his alleged retraction of criticism is to know more about the reception of Sībawayh's book and about the way it influenced the development of Arab grammatical tradition. As a working hypothesis we accept that al-Mubarrad retracted his criticism and, in so doing, he acknowledged the authority of the *Kitāb Sībawayh* in order to emphasize his own Basran identity and to legitimize his position by referring back to a long and "firm" tradition.

At the outset of our study we shall turn to biographical and historical texts for information about al-Mubarrad's personal situation. We shall gather data on the places where he lived, on the people with whom he had frequent contact, on his education, his teachers and pupils, on his work and his position within his scholarly circle and social surroundings. These data will contribute to a better understanding of al-Mubarrad's professional endeavours. They will furthermore provide insight into how the theories of both Sībawayh and al-Mubarrad were transmitted.

The main source for our investigation into al-Mubarrad's grammatical position is his refutation of Sībawayh's book. This work is extant in a grammatical treatise of the fourth/tenth century Egyptian grammarian Ahmad b. Wallād. In his *Intiṣār* "Defense", which we have in manuscript (Cairo: *Dār al-Kutub* no. 705 *naḥw*, Taymūr), Ibn Wallād defends Sībawayh against al-Mubarrad's criticisms. His commentary is traditional in structure, which means that the author first gives the literal text and then comments on it. It is therefore safe to assume that it contains the original contents of al-Mubarrad's *Radd*.

Our inventory of Ibn Wallād's *Intiṣār* will give insight in what the critical remarks of al-Mubarrad exactly amounted to. A comparison of

these criticisms with al-Mubarrad's views presented in the *Muqtaḍab* — which we believe is a later work — will show whether he really retracted his criticism. Attention will also be given to the opinions of al-Mubarrad's teachers and predecessors in order to establish whether or not he stood alone in his critical attitude towards Sībawayh. Later grammatical works will be used to complete the picture of al-Mubarrad's grammatical position in Arab tradition and the impact of his ideas.

The first part of the present study consists of three chapters. In Chapter One the prevalent Western views on the importance of Sībawayh's book and the alleged schools of Basra and Kufa will be discussed. Chapter Two presents a survey of the way classical Arab sources refer to Sībawayh, his *Kitāb* and the Basra/Kufa dichotomy. Chapter Three is devoted to a sketch of al-Mubarrad's social life and professional activities.

The second part, likewise consisting of three chapters, presents the grammatical evidence to test our assumptions. Chapter Four deals with al-Mubarrad's refutation of Sībawayh. It answers our questions as to whether al-Mubarrad's criticisms were originally his own and to what degree — if any at all — he retracted his criticism. Five of the grammatical issues discussed in the *Radd* have been selected for further analysis. These are presented in Chapter Five. The analyses will give us better insight into the peculiarities of the disagreements and the way in which they are treated by al-Mubarrad and other grammarians. Finally, in Chapter Six we shall summarize and discuss the results of our research.

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My “sparring partner” John Nawas constantly asked very critical and penetrating questions. At times, these questions were not welcome — especially at the end of a day of work; but, in general, I have experienced them as a challenge to help me formulate what I was either doing or trying to say. Putting intellectual pursuits aside, the warmth of our relationship belongs to that realm of emotions which language is unable to comprehend.

I consider myself to be a very lucky person due to the number of close friends I have. I would like to thank them all, name by name, for the many ways in which we have been able to share memories. I do feel confident, however, that those intended know how much I appreciate their support and friendship.

When my father died, he could not possibly have known that his nine year old daughter would grow up to write a dissertation on the early history of Arabic grammar; this study is dedicated to his memory and to my mother who, despite all of her own hardships inherent in raising five children by herself, was always there when I needed her.

**PART I**  
**SETTING THE STAGE**





## A SURVEY OF THE PREVALENT WESTERN VIEWS ON SĪBawayh's *Kitāb* AND THE SCHOOLS OF BASRA AND KUFA

This book deals with the early period of Arab grammatical science and centres on two main questions: (1) How did the early Arab grammarians receive and use the *Kitāb Sībawayh*, and (2) what was the historical reality of the generally assumed Basra/Kufa dichotomy? In trying to answer these questions, it hopes to offer a more precise picture of the development of Arab grammar. As background for this study, a short review of the most prominent ideas and opinions of writers on these questions to date will be given in this chapter.

With regard to the reception of the *Kitāb Sībawayh*, reference will be made to the studies of Carter (1968; 1972a; 1983; 1985a; 1989), who considers Sībawayh to be the first real Arab grammarian, and to Talmon's (1982) refutation of this view.

Concerning the Basra/Kufa dichotomy, notice will be taken of Weil (1913), the initiator of the discussion about the historical reality of the schools, and of Carter (1973b), who both deny the existence of two different schools. Versteegh's (1977; 1987; 1990a) position is quite the opposite: he firmly believes in the genuineness of the tradition of the two schools. Talmon (1984; 1985a; 1985b), Baalbaki (1981; 1982) and Owens (1988; 1990) will be presented – although for different reasons – as standing in between these two extreme positions.

This chapter consists of three paragraphs. The first deals with the views on Sībawayh's *Kitāb*. The second presents a survey of the various notions of "grammatical school", found in the works of the foremost contributors to the discussion about the Basra/Kufa dichotomy. In the third paragraph, attention will be given to their respective opinions about the historical reality of the dichotomy.

### *Sībawayh's Kitāb*

The first edition of the *Kitāb Sībawayh* was published at the end of the last century by Derenbourg. In his introduction, the editor wonders what title Sībawayh himself would have chosen for his book (Derenbourg 1881/1970.ii, nt. 2). Whatever it may have been, it was ignored; Sībawayh's

work is known as “Sībawayh’s book” or, simply, “the book”, and this is how it has always been referred to. Al-Sîrâfî (d. 368/978; *Akhbâr* 50) tells us that when someone said: “So-and-so has read the book”, it was beyond any doubt that the book of Sībawayh was meant. It apparently did not need an epithet because it was presented and transmitted from the beginning as a fixed text.<sup>1</sup>

Transmitting fixed texts started earlier in those sciences which did not use *isnâds*, like grammar, than in those which did, like *ḥadīth*, as Schoeler (1985.213, n. 63; 218, n. 80) explains, but even in Sībawayh’s time an entire “book” on grammar – and one so elaborate – was at the very least an achievement.

The relatively young age at which Sībawayh died – the exact dates of his birth and death are not known but he was probably forty years old at most when he died – may have been the reason why his book became a “fixed text” from the very beginning.<sup>2</sup> The young Sībawayh could not have had a great number of pupils and indeed we know of only one direct transmitter of his book – al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. 215/830 or 221/835). It is not impossible that al-Akhfash was the only pupil who had the complete text of Sībawayh’s *Kitâb* since no other versions of it were in circulation (cf. Sezgin 1984.53-54).

This first extensive grammar, written by a rather unknown and young newcomer, must have provoked some suspicious feelings amidst the grammarians of his time. They were accustomed to the traditional scholarship of spending a lifetime of travelling and gathering knowledge from old established scholars (*ṭalab al-‘ilm*) before earning any recognition or admiration at all (Rosenthal, 1947; Ahmed, 1968.107-108 and 234).

According to Carter (1968; 1972a), Sībawayh did not have any colleagues to surprise. In Carter’s view, Sībawayh was the first real, professional grammarian. Even al-Khalîl (d. 175/791) and Yûnus (d. 182/798) – of all the linguists who are mentioned by name in the *Kitâb*, they are the ones who are referred to most – are considered by Carter not to be capable “de construire le système grammatical développé par Sībawayhi dans son ouvrage” (1972a.96). Carter believes that the group of scholars referred to by Sībawayh in his *Kitâb* as the *naḥwiyyûn*, were mere amateurs with a great interest in the language. They lacked the intellectual and theoretical basis to understand Sībawayh’s highly developed grammatical system (1972a.77).

Carter’s thesis has been convincingly refuted by Talmon (1982). He studied the occurrences of the term *naḥwiyyûn* in the *Kitâb* with special attention to this group’s grammatical interests, their use of a technical vocabulary, and to the way Sībawayh criticizes them. Talmon’s research leads to the conclusion that not only the linguists mentioned by name in the

*Kitāb*, but the *nahwiyyūn* as well were all grammarians in the technical sense, like Sībawayh himself. Most of them were his contemporaries. This suggests that Sībawayh was indeed part of an already established linguistic tradition, in which his *Kitāb* had to find its rightful place.<sup>3</sup>

Later on Carter revises his point of view by accepting Talmon's opinion that the *nahwiyyūn* "occupied themselves with linguistic problems at a fairly sophisticated level" (Carter 1985a.265). Although he still maintains that the *nahwiyyūn* were not grammarians in the technical sense, he admits that the fact that Sībawayh rarely ever clarified his theoretical principles can only mean that his readers were already familiar with these principles (1983.110; 116). Carter then describes the *Kitāb* as "a state-of-the-art document, recording an abundance of agreement and disagreement". This is a rather accurate reflection of Sībawayh's way of dealing with his colleagues: he has much criticism, and as such stands out amongst them.<sup>4</sup> We find indeed that Sībawayh's criticism is mostly directed to two matters which are closely related:<sup>5</sup> (1) His predecessors' and contemporaries' attitude towards the *kalām al-'Arab*, and (2) their respect for the canonical text of the Qur'ān, the *Mushāf*.

Sībawayh more than once reproaches his colleagues for over-emphasizing the importance of grammatical, theoretical rules, without verifying these rules by a comparison with the living Bedouin speech. In his view, the *kalām al-'Arab* has to be regarded as the authoritative source for all linguistic exercises rather than a mere source of information. This means, amongst other things, that for Sībawayh not only the starting-point of an analogical reasoning (*qiyās*) but its result as well must correspond with an example from the living language. He does not accept an expression unless he is certain it actually occurs in Bedouin speech. Simultaneously, Sībawayh sees the text of the Qur'ān as the example *par excellence* of the *kalām al-'Arab*. Doing so, he completely relies on the officially accepted 'Uthmānic text, the *Mushāf*.<sup>6</sup> This shows that Sībawayh makes a hierarchical differentiation in his evaluation of the sources: if the *kalām al-'Arab* and the *Mushāf* contradict each other, he always prefers to follow the latter.<sup>7</sup>

Up to Sībawayh's time, grammatical studies were primarily concerned with the codification, explanation, and interpretation of the Qur'ān. The grammarian's task was therefore to explain and interpret the data which they collected from a specific corpus: the text of the Qur'ān and its variant readings. This accounted for a strong orientation on the meaning of the text in their approach.

Contrary to his predecessors and contemporaries, Sībawayh wrote an entire book on Arabic grammar. The task he had set for himself was not to explain grammatical features emerging from a given text but to estab-

lish generally applicable grammatical rules.<sup>8</sup> He accepted the *Mushaf* as the only correct text of the Qur'ân. It provided him with grammatically correct illustrations. Sîbawayh's attitude with regard to the *Mushaf* gave him the opportunity to shift his attention from the grammatical interpretation of the Qur'ân to the syntactic aspects of the Arabic language.

Sîbawayh's innovative approach to linguistics seems to have had no direct impact, however. Al-Djarmî, who died in 225/839 – some fifty years later than Sîbawayh – reportedly addresses his fellow-grammarians with the same reproach of ignoring the *kalâm al-'Arab* as an authoritative source. On the other hand, unlike Sîbawayh, al-Djarmî does not give preference to the *Mushaf* above the living language of the Bedouin if these sources contradict each other (Bernards 1989a.24-5).

Carter (1968.302-303) sketches a rather deplorable state of affairs as far as grammar after Sîbawayh is concerned. He states that even as early as al-Akhfash al-Awsat, the main transmitter of Sîbawayh, grammar became a pedagogical game and the *Kitâb* a misunderstood work. In his view, the explanation for Sîbawayh's book to be called "the book" is grounded in misunderstanding:

We do know that the *Kitâb* was very soon regarded as a work of peculiar difficulty even by prominent Arab grammarians ... and it is obvious that the respect which raised the *Kitâb* to the status of a 'Qur'ân of grammar' ... was firmly based on a reluctance to understand it.<sup>9</sup>

The present study hopefully will provide a more subtle picture of the way the grammarians of al-Akhfash's generation dealt with the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*.

### *What is a school?*

Arab tradition assumes the idea of a partition between two competing schools: the grammatical centres of Basra and Kufa (this will be fully dealt with in the next chapter). The historical and biographical sources are not unique in emphasizing this distinction. The Arab grammatical literature includes many works on the *madjâlîs* where grammarians discussed all kinds of linguistic problems, and on the so-called *masâ'il ikhtilâfiyya*, "points of disagreement". These works recount the differences between the Basrans and the Kufans. Ibn al-Anbârî's (d. 577/1181) *Inṣâf fî masâ'il al-khilâf* presents the best illustration of this traditional dichotomy.

When Weil – in the introduction to his edition of the *Inṣâf* (1913) – presented his doubts on the historical reality of the Arab tradition, he initiated a lively, polemical discussion between Western scholars. In the course of time, this discussion has provided a considerable contribution to

our knowledge of how grammatical science was fostered in the centres of Basra, Kufa, and Baghdad.

The discussion thus far fundamentally lacks methodological and technical structure, however. Few of the participants have explicitly and clearly given a definition of “school” as a starting-point for the dispute. In this paragraph, I shall present a brief survey of the notions of a “(grammatical) school” as can be derived from the publications of the foremost contributors to the discussion.

In Weil’s definition of a “school/Schule”, the central terms would be method, system, and polemics; a group of scholars who form a unity, use the same method which is patently different from other methods, and initiate discussions with opponents (Weil 1913.49; 57; 67).<sup>10</sup>

Carter very implicitly relates the meaning of “school” to terms like method, theory, and terminology. For instance, in his study on the principle of *ṣarf* and *khilāf*, he states that the difference between Sībawayh and al-Farrā’ (d. 207/822) – as representatives of the putative schools – only consists in their use of the terminology and not of the principle itself (1973b.297). He also gives a completely different meaning to the word “school”. Referring to Schacht (1959.7), he suggests that it denotes a group of scholars who distinguish themselves from other groups by their geographical origin, not by a common doctrine (Carter 1973b.300). He subsequently adds: “Les biographies de grammairiens sont toujours classées selon leur lieu d’origine”. With regard to the discussion on the Basra/Kufa dichotomy, Carter seems to prefer this notion of “school” which is based on geographical characteristics.<sup>11</sup>

From Versteegh’s description of the points of agreement between the Basran and Kufan grammarians, one can derive his notion of a grammatical school: a group of scholars who fundamentally agree on the essence of grammar, who handle the same method and thus never basically differ in opinion (see 1977.111; 112). In dealing with the differences between Basra and Kufa, he especially emphasizes the use of distinct vocabularies. He apparently would include this feature in a definition of “school” (1990a.39).

Talmon uses the term “school” very rarely. He prefers expressions like “Basran scholarly circles”, “Kufan grammatical thinking”, “Hijazi grammatical learning” (1985b.128-130). When he mentions the “Hijazi school” or the “historical school of Basra”, he refers to their geographical location rather than to their allegedly different doctrines. When he refers to differences between Basran and Kufan (or other, notably Hijazi) theories, as regards content, he speaks of “the existence of early rival grammatical doctrines in Kufa and Basra” (1984.692). From his article on the grammatical centre of Medina (1985a.235), the following notion of a “grammatical

school” can be made explicit: a scholarly circle of people who originate from a certain city and who occupy themselves with the study of Arabic grammar.

Baalbaki, as opposed to all the above-mentioned, explicitly equates school with method, corresponding with the Arabic *madhhab*. According to this view, a school is a body of scholars who use the same method. Representatives of such a school may differ from each other on minor points, as long as they more or less agree on method, terminology, sources and subject-matter, and as such can be recognized as belonging to that one group (1981.7; 1982.243). Hence, Baalbaki shares approximately the same opinion of Weil and Versteegh.

Owens defines – also explicitly – a (grammatical) school more or less as “a well-defined canon of knowledge” (1988.13), shared by a group of scholars with a “distinct academic lineage” (1988.11). He further makes mention of a “recognizable and distinct linguistic doctrine” (1990.204), a “distinct canon of precepts” and of an agreement on “grammatical terminology and classification of the data” (1990.219), as opposed to emphasis on individual scholars and a free choice of terminology and classification (1990.219).

Despite seemingly great differences of opinion, the writers mentioned above apply more or less the same meaning to the term “school”. This meaning corresponds with the usual dictionary definition given by, for instance, Webster’s *Ninth collegiate dictionary*: “Persons who hold a common doctrine or follow the same teacher”.

Without engaging in any theoretical discussion, let us just conclude that two aspects are emphasized in these notions, namely (1) the methodological and (2) the social aspects. The category of methodological aspects includes method, doctrine, technical vocabulary and polemics. Scholars constitute a school if they agree on method and subject-matter, if they use the same terminology and do not fundamentally differ in opinion. The social aspects evolve around the geographical area where the scholars come from. Scholars belong to the same school if they live and work in the same area, have the same academic lineage and share their most frequent contacts.

It is apparent from the survey of notions/definitions derived from the works of the above-mentioned writers that we can distinguish between Weil, Versteegh and Baalbaki on the one hand, and Carter, Talmon and Owens on the other. In speaking of the term “school”, the first group only takes the methodological aspects into consideration. The second group includes both the methodological and social categories.

### *The historical reality under discussion*

The definition one has either implicitly or explicitly of the notion of “school” determines the position one takes in the discussion about the historical reality of the Basra/Kufa dichotomy. This will become clear in this paragraph which presents a summary of the views of the foremost contributors to the discussion.

In accordance with what Weil associates with a school — method, system, polemics — he denies a historical dichotomy between the grammarians of Basra and Kufa. He holds the view that only after the grammarians came together in the new centre of science, Baghdad, the dichotomy came into existence. The distinction between two schools was a contrivance of the Baghdadian grammarians who projected back their own respective disagreements. In those days the practice of scholarship was based on oral tradition; one was only allowed to transmit the ideas of one’s colleague or teacher, if one had an *idjāza*.<sup>12</sup> According to Weil, differences of opinion could only become apparent in circumstances under which grammarians would have been able to have had frequent contact. Weil is convinced that, before the grammatical centre of Baghdad started to exist, the grammarians from Kufa and Basra did not have enough contact to be conscious of fundamental disagreements, if any, between them. That is the reason why he believes that a clear distinction between two schools did not exist. The grammatical doctrine we know from the time grammar was mainly practiced in Baghdad, is traditionally considered to be a synthesis of the Basran and Kufan systems. In Weil’s view, this doctrine was in fact the Basran grammatical system, whereas the Kufans never really made up a school (Weil 1913.67-8).<sup>13</sup>

Carter takes his cue from Weil, in the sense that he supports the “projection-theory”. He makes some additional notes, the most important of which is his comparison of the development of grammar with that of jurisprudence as described by Schacht (1959). Carter’s (1973b.299-304) position can be summarized as follows. The development of Arab grammar has to be seen within the context of the general process of islamization of that time. Islamic jurisprudence progressed from *ad hoc* regulations into the codified prescriptive system of the recognized legal schools. In a comparable way, Carter says, Arabic grammar developed from the descriptive system based on linguistic principles — as we know it from Sībawayh — into a normative, prescriptive grammar, based on purely formal arguments. The latter is the system we know from the Baghdadian era onwards. According to Carter, this new, Baghdadian grammar became known as the Basran system. Divergent ideas which did not conform to the Basran system were traditionally called Kufan.

Versteegh (1977.109-11; 1987.157-58; 1990a.39, 43), as opposed to Weil and Carter, is of the opinion that the dichotomy between the schools of Basra and Kufa in reality did exist. He supports his view on the basis of three arguments: (1) Contrary to Weil, Versteegh believes that the Basran and Kufan grammarians had lively contacts with each other. He points to the extensive literature on the *masâ'il ikhtilâfiyya* and to the reports on the grammatical *madjâlîs*. Al-Zadjdjâdjî (d. 337/949 or 340/951), Tha'lab (d. 291/904) and Ibn Djinnî (d. 392/1002) together give enough accounts of meetings between Basrans and Kufans for Versteegh to be convinced that the grammarians were aware of their various ideas (1977.109-110; 1987.157). (2) Although Versteegh admits that the schools used the same method and that the differences between them did not include major points — two of the aspects he associates with the notion “school” — he maintains the view that Basra and Kufa represented different traditions, if not schools. He supports his statement by referring to the existence of two divergent grammatical vocabularies. As we have seen above, Weil’s projection theory does not account for a divergent Kufan vocabulary,<sup>14</sup> “unless we are to assume that later grammarians not only invented the Kufan school, but a special terminology to go with it as well” (Versteegh 1977.109). In his argumentation in favour of the existence of two distinct schools, Versteegh strongly emphasizes the fact that the Kufan terminology differed from the Basran. (3) Finally, Versteegh puts forward an argument based on common sense. He refers to the rivalry between the two cities, which did not only appear in questions of law and theology, but also in political and religious matters. He assumes that this competitiveness also had its effect on the development of Arab grammar.

Talmon (1985b.139-43) elaborates on Weil’s projection-theory and Carter’s comparison of the development of Arab grammar with that of Islamic jurisprudence. His research is especially directed to the question of how the Basran grammatical centre had become much more important, traditionally, than Kufa or the other centres of grammatical science. He investigates the different traditions on the origin and development of Arab grammar, and their respective *isnâds*. Talmon considers the results of this study in the light of Schacht’s ideas on the development of the schools of jurisprudence. In doing so, he arrives at the conclusion that the respective centres of grammatical science of Basra and Kufa found themselves at a certain point in time drifting into a position of mutual rivalry. They consequently did everything they could to vindicate themselves by referring to a long and impressive tradition. The Basrans supported their school with an uninterrupted chain of very important Basran grammarians — Sîbawayh included — back to the traditional founder of Arab grammatical science, Abû al-Aswad al-Du'alî. This Basran tradition eventually



superseded the other traditions. Al-Djumahī (*Ṭabaqât al-shu'arâ* 5) is the first to mention the Basran chain, at the beginning of the third/ninth century.

In defining "school", as we have seen above, Owens takes both social and methodological aspects into account. In discussing the historical reality of the dichotomy (1988.8-11; 1990.203ff), he takes an intermediate position between the extremes presented by Weil/Carter on the one hand, and Versteegh on the other. He is of the opinion that the schools did in reality exist. In his view, the formation of the schools was related to the development of Basran and Kufan linguistics from an exegetic grammatical tradition to a purely grammatical system – a transition which started around 225/839. Owens tells us that the grammarians of the early third/ninth century had different opinions but quickly adds that the differences were not significant. Grammarians who are generally assumed to have been Basran, regularly held Kufan views and *vice versa*. There was no difficulty at all in sharing each other's ideas.<sup>15</sup> It was not before the late third/ninth century – in the period in which Ibn al-Sarrâdj (d. 319/928) produced his *Uṣûl fī al-naḥw*, "a reference grammar which effectively set the tone for all later generations" (Owens 1990.219) – that a real distinction between two schools came into being.<sup>16</sup>

Baalbaki deals with the formation of the schools only as a side-issue. However, he does take position in the matter (1981.24-25). He compares some of Ibn al-Anbârî's *masâ'il ikhtilâfiyya* with grammatical works from the second/eighth and third/ninth century. As a result, he is convinced of the historical reality of rather many actual differences between al-Farrâ' (d. 207/822) on the one hand, and Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad on the other. From this point of view he argues that Weil's theory of a forged dichotomy is not plausible. In his view, the later grammarians after al-Mubarrad perhaps generalized and emphasized the already existing disagreements, and thus gave the idea of a deeper cleft between two schools than was historically justified. But on the other hand, according to Baalbaki, it might well have been that the other second and third century grammarians, of whom we do not have any extant works, in general agreed with either al-Farrâ' or Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad.

Let us summarize the above: in the discussion about the historical reality of the Basra/Kufa dichotomy, we have two extremes: (1) Weil and Carter who deny that there ever was a Kufan school; it was invented by a later generation. (2) Versteegh who firmly believes in the existence of two distinct schools. The other writers mentioned stand in between these two extreme positions. They all agree that there were differences between the Basran and Kufan grammarians, but that they were minor ones. According to Talmon, these differences were moulded, by retrospection, into

fundamental disagreements between two schools. Owens is of the opinion that the differences became bigger, until two different canons of knowledge came into being. Baalbaki stresses the fact that alongside with the differences, there were many similarities and he doubts whether there is enough evidence for us to conclude that there were schools which differed from each other in real substance.

As we have seen above, only some of the writers — Carter, Talmon and Owens — incorporate social aspects in their notions of “school”. In discussing the historical reality, all writers take these aspects into consideration. Part of the disagreement between Weil and Versteegh evolves around the contacts the grammarians of Basra and Kufa might have had. Both Talmon and Owens include the aspect of academic lineage in their interpretation of the historical reality. Referring to geographical origin, Carter admits that the schools existed.

It appears that the discussion about the dichotomy between the schools of Basra and Kufa would benefit from a clear-cut definition of the notion of “school”. For the time being, I propose that we deal with both the methodological and the social aspects of the notion of school in discussing the development of Arabic grammar. On the basis of social aspects such as geographical origin and academic lineage, one must conclude that there were two distinct groups of scholars, those of Basra and those of Kufa. The point is, however, whether or not these groups of scholars actually represented any different approaches to the analysis of language. In this respect, Owens’ *Early Arabic grammatical theory* is a valuable contribution to the discussion. Owens describes the development of the schools on the basis of substantial grammatical arguments. As we have seen above, he arrives at the conclusion that it was not before the second half of the third/ninth century, that Basra and Kufa came to represent two methodologically distinct groups.

This, inevitably, leads to the following question: how and why did the Arab tradition present a strict distinction between the grammarians of Basra and Kufa — especially those of the early period before al-Mubarrad and Tha’lab. Talmon’s elaboration of Weil’s projection-theory provides a partial answer to this question. In light of his theory, it appears that the reception of the *Kitāb Sībawayh* is central to the development of the Arabic grammatical tradition. Before going into the details of this matter, the next chapter will present a survey of the Arabic references to the *Kitāb Sībawayh* and to the Basran and Kufan schools.

## CLASSICAL ARABIC REFERENCES TO SĪBWAYH, HIS *KITĀB*, AND THE SCHOOLS OF BASRA AND KUFA

In the previous chapter we have seen that the discussion of Western scholars about the development of Arab grammar is based on the assumption that the traditional Arab description of this development does not always match the historical reality. From the Arab tradition one gets the impression that the *Kitāb Sībawayh* was generally accepted from its very inception as the grammatical analysis *par excellence* of the Arabic language. Arab tradition also emphasizes a strict division between the two schools of Basra and Kufa. Although Sībawayh was considered to be one of the most prominent Basran scholars, his book was all the same important to representatives of the Kufan school. Furthermore, in the previous chapter we expounded the proposition that the reception of the *Kitāb Sībawayh* was essential to the formation of the schools.

This chapter presents a survey of the way Arab grammarians and historiographers referred to Sībawayh's *Kitāb* and to the dichotomy of the schools. The survey will add support to the above-mentioned proposition.

The first paragraph includes references to Sībawayh and his *Kitāb*. The second deals with the way Arab tradition makes mention of the schools of Basra and Kufa; the emphasis will be on the use of the term *madhhab*.<sup>1</sup> The third paragraph presents a comparison of the results of these two sets of references — those of paragraphs one and two. Prior to all this, a survey of the biographical and grammatical sources which were used for this chapter will be presented.

### *The sources used for this chapter*

Weil's introduction to Ibn al-Anbārī's *Inṣāf* (1913) triggered off the discussion about the discrepancy between traditional accounts on the one hand and historical reality on the other. Ibn al-Anbārī's (d. 577/1181) *Kitāb al-inṣāf fi masā'il al-khilāf bayna al-naḥwiyyīna al-baṣriyyīna wa-al-kūfiyyīn* is an excellent example of a work on the differences between the grammarians. Ibn al-Anbārī presented it on the request of his students at the Nizāmiyya University of Baghdad. It was modelled after the polemical

disputes between al-Shâfi'î and Abû Ḥanîfa, and, according to Ibn al-Anbârî, it was the first of its kind.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn al-Anbârî may have been the first to present grammatical disagreements in the way juridical cases are discussed. However, the presentation of differences between grammarians as such was not new. We know of several of the so-called "*ikhtilâf*"-works before Ibn al-Anbârî: *Ikhtilâf al-naḥwiyyîn* by Tha'lab (d. 291/904), *Ikhtilâf al-baṣriyyîn wa-al-kûfiyyîn* by Ibn Kaysân (d. 299/911), *Kitâb al-muqni'* by al-Nahḥâs (d. 338/950) and *Kitâb al-ikhtilâf* by al-Rummânî (d. 384/994) – just to mention the most important ones.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, none of these have survived. The only work we have in edited form – besides the *Inṣâf* – is al-Zadjdjâdjî's (d. 337/949) *al-Idâh fî 'ilal al-naḥw*. Although it was not meant to be an *ikhtilâf*-work proper, it often presents Kufan and Basran theories side by side.

Of the other genre of works that take account of disagreements between grammarians – the so-called *madjâlîs*-reports, which were about debates grammarians held during regular meetings – we have the *Madjâlîs Tha'lab* by Tha'lab and the *Madjâlîs al-'ulamâ'* by al-Zadjdjâdjî.

Besides these, we have to rely on purely grammatical texts and on historical/biographical ones. For the purpose of this chapter – the reconstruction of the development of the indigenous references to the *Kitâb Sibawayh* and the Basra/Kufa dichotomy – the following grammatical texts have been used: al-Farrâ' (d. 207/822), *Ma'ânî al-Qur'ân* and *al-Mudhakkar wa-al-mu'annath*; al-Akhfash (d. 215/830 or 221/835), *Ma'ânî al-Qur'ân*; al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), *al-Muqtadab* and *al-Kâmil*; Lughda (d. 310/922), *Muqaddima fî al-naḥw*; al-Zadjdjâdj (d. 311/923), *Ma'ânî al-Qur'ân* and *Mâ yansarif wa-mâ lâ yansarif*; Ibn al-Sarrâdj (d. 316/928), *al-Uṣûl fî al-naḥw*; Ibn Shuqayr (d. 317/929), *al-Muḥallâ*. *Wudjûh al-naṣb*; Ibn Kaysân (d. 320/932 or 299/911), *Kitâb al-muwaffaqî fî al-naḥw*; al-Zadjdjâdjî (d. 337/949 or 340/951), *al-Djurnal fî al-naḥw*; al-Sîrâfî (d. 368/979), *Sharḥ Kitâb Sibawayh* and *Mâ dhakarahû al-Kûfiyyûn min al-idghâm*; al-Fârisî (d. 377/987), *Aqsâm al-akḥbâr* and *al-Masâ'il al-baṣriyyât*; al-Rummânî (d. 384/994), *Sharḥ Kitâb Sibawayh* and Ibn Djinnî (d. 392/1002), *al-Khaṣâ'iṣ* and *al-Munṣif*.<sup>4</sup>

Most of the early biographical works are either lost or not yet found. We know that al-Mâzinî (d. 248/862), al-Sidjîstânî (d. 255/869), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), Tha'lab (d. 291/904), al-Ṣûlî (d. 335/946) and Ibn Durus-tawayh (d. 347/958) all wrote biographical reports on grammarians (Sezgin 1984.12-15). None of these are at our disposal. The oldest biographical work on grammarians which we have, is the rather obscure *risâla* of Abû Hâmid Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Shaybân al-Tirmidhî, which was transmitted by Abû al-Husayn 'Alî b. al-Husayn al-Kâtib al-Yazîdî.

The editor of the text, Hâshim al-Ta<sup>cc</sup>ân, could not find anything on both of these writers except the information given in the text itself. Abû Hâmid al-Tirmidhî lived in the middle of the third/ninth century. From the negative way the Basran grammarians are treated, while nearly all the Kufans receive praise and glory, al-Ta<sup>cc</sup>ân concludes that this Abû Hâmid must have been a Kufan himself.<sup>5</sup>

The other biographical works used for this chapter are al-Muqri' (d. 349/960), *Akhbâr al-naḥwiyyîn*; Abû al-Tayyib (d. 351/962), *Marâtib al-naḥwiyyîn*; al-Sîrâfî (d. 368/979), *Akhbâr al-naḥwiyyîn al-baṣriyyîn*; al-Zubaydî (d. 379/989), *Ṭabaqât al-naḥwiyyîn wa-al-lughawiyyîn*; al-Marzubânî (d. 384/993), *Nûr al-qabas al-mukhtaṣar min al-muqtabas*; Ibn al-Nadîm (d. 385/995), *al-Fihrist*; al-Tanûkhî (d. 442/1050), *Târikh al-'ulamâ' al-naḥwiyyîn min al-baṣriyyîn wa-al-kûfiyyîn wa-ghayrihim*; and finally, Ibn al-Anbârî's biographical work *Nuzhat al-alibbâ' fî ṭabaqât al-udabâ'*.

Just one glance at the *Nuzha* is enough to notice that during Ibn al-Anbârî's era, as far as Arab tradition is concerned, the reputation of Sîbawayh's *Kitâb* had been firmly established and the schools of Basra and Kufa were a fact, a tradition which continues up till the present day.<sup>6</sup> And this is exactly the reason why later works, although invaluable for other purposes, have not been used for the reconstruction of the development of references to the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* and the schools.

### *References to the Kitâb Sîbawayh*

From the beginning of the third/ninth century onwards, many grammarians wrote a commentary on the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*. Among them we find al-Akhfash al-Awsat, Sîbawayh's pupil – his *Ta'liqât* is probably the oldest commentary – al-Djarmî (d. 225/839), al-Mâzinî (d. 248/862), al-Sidjîstânî (d. 255/869), Ibn Abî Zur'a (d. 257/871), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), al-Zadjdjâdj (d. 311/923) – whose *Mâ yanṣarif wa-mâ lâ yanṣarif* is the oldest partial commentary that still exists<sup>7</sup> – Ibn al-Sarrâdj (d. 316/928), al-Zadjdjâdjî (d. 337/949), al-Nahhâs (d. 338/950), al-Sîrâfî (d. 368/958) and al-Rummânî (d. 384/994).<sup>8</sup> Most of these works are called *Sharḥ Kitâb Sîbawayh* or *Tafsîr Kitâb Sîbawayh*, which probably means that they provided explanatory notes, rather than presenting critical remarks. An exception is Ibn Abî Zur'a's *Nukat 'alâ Kitâb Sîbawayh*, a title which justifies the assumption that it was a critical commentary.<sup>9</sup> The other exception is al-Mubarrad's *Radd 'alâ Kitâb Sîbawayh* which undoubtedly was a critical treatise. It will be discussed in the chapters to come.

The large amount of early commentaries on the *Kitâb* indicates that the work aroused much attention. However, the fact that all these commenta-

ries were written does not give us any clue as to how influential Sībawayh's ideas were. We need to know how often Sībawayh was quoted and in what way one agreed or disagreed with his ideas. Detailed studies on the early grammatical works are necessary in order to gain insight into what the actual influence of the *Kitāb* was. Counting the references to Sībawayh and his *Kitāb* together with a short description of the nature of these references can perhaps give us an idea of how Sībawayh's grammar found its place in the Arab traditional accounts.

The oldest biographical sources that we have scarcely make mention of Sībawayh.<sup>10</sup> His biography is introduced by Abū al-Tayyib and al-Sirāfi in the late fourth/tenth century. They clearly set the tone for the information which can be distilled from later sources. From the information, three major themes can be identified: (1) high esteem for Sībawayh and the *Kitāb*, (2) originality of Sībawayh's ideas and (3) critical comments to the *Kitāb*.<sup>11</sup>

Although Sībawayh does not receive extraordinary attention in the biographical sources as compared to other grammarians, he invariably receives praise for being the best grammarian after al-Khalīl. His reliability is discussed and attested. His book is considered to be very valuable; it gains the epithet "the Qur'ān of grammar" (*Qur'ān al-nahw*), and when in Basra someone speaks of "the book", it is immediately clear that the *Kitāb Sībawayh* is meant. No one studied the *Kitāb* under Sībawayh himself; al-Akhfash al-Awsat made it public after Sībawayh's death and that is the reason why he is referred to as "the way to Sībawayh's book" (*al-tarīq ilā Kitāb Sībawayh*). Several anecdotes make clear that the *Kitāb*, although brilliant, is not easy to understand (for instance, Abū al-Tayyib, *Marātib* 78). Most of the references to the *Kitāb*, leaving the separate entries on Sībawayh aside, concern the grammarians who have studied the book or have read it to their pupils. It is a striking fact that, according to the sources, grammarians from Kufa study the *Kitāb* but, unlike their Basran colleagues, do not transmit it (see p. 18).

The originality of Sībawayh's ideas has been questioned. Ibn al-Nadīm tells us that, according to Tha'lab, Sībawayh is one of the forty-two authors of the *Kitāb*, but the story seems not to have been taken very seriously since it is only mentioned in this one source (*Fihrist* 76).<sup>12</sup> That Sībawayh heavily relies on al-Khalīl as his teacher and most important informant, does not affect his reputation or the praiseworthiness of his book.

Negative remarks on the *Kitāb Sībawayh* concern alleged shortcomings and carelessness in handling linguistic material of poetry and the *kalām al-'Arab*, as well as ungrammatical language on the part of Sībawayh. All remarks of this kind come from Kufan grammarians and al-Farrā' appears

to be the most ardent adversary. When Sībawayh, in a discussion about a line of poetry of Bashshâr, claims it is in contradiction with Bedouin speech, al-Farrâ' goes so far as to call him "a truly great calamity" (*ʿudla min al-ʿudal*: al-Marzûbânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 95). Criticism from the side of the Basrans is scarcely ever mentioned. Abû Hâtim al-Sidjîstânî (d. 255/869)<sup>13</sup> is of the opinion – contrary to the above-mentioned remarks – that the *Kitâb* is remarkable for its elaborateness in metrics and poetry; he considers al-Mâzinî (d. 248/862) to be the better grammarian (al-Sîrâfî, *Akhhbâr* 93; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 116). Abû Ishâq al-Ziyâdî (d. 249/863) is said to have read parts of the *Kitâb Sībawayh*, but he never finished it. He wrote a short critical commentary in which he presented some points of disagreement with the *Kitâb* (al-Sîrâfî, *Akhhbâr* 88; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 126). Only one source makes mention of al-Mubarrad's *Radd ʿalâ Kitâb Sībawayh*, but not without emphasizing that he withdrew most of his critical comments later on (al-Tanûkhî, *Târîkh* 19, 59).

The way the biographical sources criticize the *Kitâb Sībawayh* shows a tendency to associate Sībawayh with the alleged Basran/Kufan dispute. The example *par excellence* of this phenomenon is furnished by the story of "the case of the wasp" (*al-masʿala al-zunbûriyya*),<sup>14</sup> the account of the greatest victory of the Kufans over the Basrans. This famous story is told for the first time by al-Zubaydî (d. 379/989; *Tabaqât* 68-71) and transmitted in several versions through numerous channels.<sup>15</sup> It tells about a discussion between the Kufan grammarian al-Kisâʾî (d. 183/799) and Sībawayh, which takes place in the presence of the Kufan grammarians al-Farrâ' (d. 207/822) and al-Ahmar (d. 194/809),<sup>16</sup> under the supervision of Yahyâ b. Khâlid the Barmakid (d. 190/805), vizier to Hârûn al-Rashîd. The protagonists cannot reach an agreement on the subject under discussion. Eventually, they decide to submit the case for judgment to some Bedouins, who are waiting at the palace gate for an audience with the caliph. The Bedouins are asked in, the problem is discussed and al-Kisâʾî is pronounced right.

The case of the wasp is extensively treated by Talmon (1986; 1988) who has analysed both its historiographical and its grammatical aspects. The fact that there are so many different versions of the story leads him to conclude, amongst other things, that it has been tinkered with intentionally in order to emphasize the negative way the Kufans treated Sībawayh. In one of the versions, the Bedouins, who are to judge the case, are not mentioned at all; in another, they are mentioned by name and surname to convince the reader of their trustworthiness.<sup>17</sup> Sometimes all the judges agree with al-Kisâʾî; sometimes they disagree amongst themselves. Sometimes it is even suggested that these Bedouins were bribed. One version even leaves out the whole passage on the Bedouin judges. In some of the ver-

sions, al-Farrâ' —not al-Kisâ'î— is Sîbawayh's opponent; in another Yahyâ b. Khâlid is depicted as advising Sîbawayh against taking part in the debate.

One point is stressed in all the different versions of the story. However strong Sîbawayh's arguments may have been, al-Kisâ'î triumphs on the basis of evidence from the *kalâm al-'Arab*. According to tradition, as we have seen above, the Kufan recriminations against Sîbawayh, culminating in al-Farrâ's exclamation that Sîbawayh is a "great calamity", all refer to this point: Sîbawayh's alleged negligence of Bedouin speech. In this respect, the *mas'ala zunbûriyya* stands as a model for the traditional Basran/Kufan dispute: the Basrans derive their arguments from their own closely reasoned theoretical framework whereas the Kufans support their views by referring to the *kalâm al-'Arab*.

References to Sîbawayh in biographical sources grow in number as time goes by — from eight references and a separate entry of six lines in Abû al-Tayyib's *Marâtib*, to twenty-three references and seventy-four lines in Ibn al-Anbârî's *Nuzha*. The growing number of references is not very surprising since it was the biographers' custom to enumerate the grammarians who read the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*: they also grow in number. More interesting is the fact that the information about Sîbawayh, brought forward in the separate entries, becomes more extensive and, moreover, is changed in the course of time.

From the beginning the *Kitâb* is described as a wonderful book, important for all those who are interested in grammar. However, that it is not accepted without any critical comments, is also known from the earliest references. Gradually, supplementary information is provided. Al-Zubaydî tells us that Ibn Kaysân (d. 299/911 or 320/932), who was a pupil of both Tha'lab and al-Mubarrad, refused to read the *Kitâb* to Mabramân (d. 326/938) and sent him to al-Zadjdjâdj (d. 311/923), as if Ibn Kaysân was not enough of a "Basran" to transmit the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* (*Tabaqât* 153). Al-Zubaydî's *Tabaqât* also presents the earliest references to the *mas'ala zunbûriyya*. Al-Marzûbânî gives us some unique new facts. He is our only source for al-Farrâ's furious outburst, calling Sîbawayh a "calamity" (*Nûr al-qabas* 95). Additionally, he provides us with the piece of information on how Sîbawayh died of a broken neck while visiting a most hospitable friend (*Nûr al-qabas* 96-97). To my knowledge, this story of how Sîbawayh died is not told by any other biographer. New in Ibn al-Nadîm's *Fihrist* (76) is Tha'lab's claim that Sîbawayh wrote the *Kitâb* with over forty other writers. As we have seen above, this disclosure apparently did not have any direct effect. The information about al-Mubarrad's *Radd 'alâ Kitâb Sîbawayh* is an addition from al-Tanûkhî. He tells us that al-Mubarrad origi-



nally brought forward more than four hundred points of disagreement with Sībawayh and that, eventually, only forty of those remained (*Tārīkh* 19, 59). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī brings in yet another new element. He illustrates the extraordinary reputation of the *Kitāb Sībawayh* by telling the story of al-Djāhiz (d. 255/869) who gave the *Kitāb* as a present to a friend, a man who already possessed everything (*Tārīkh Baghdād* XII,196).

Another example of information which has changed as time went by, is the story of Ibn Kaysān's dream. The story appears for the first time in the *Marātib* of Abū al-Ṭayyib and is as follows: Ibn Kaysān sees in his dream some *djinn*s who are discussing all kinds of scholarly problems. He asks them to whom they incline in grammatical matters and they answer him: "To Sībawayh, of course!". This story comes to the ears of one Abū Mūsā al-Ḥāmid (d. 305/917; literally "the sourpuss"), a Kufan grammarian with little respect for Sībawayh's *Kitāb*. His comment: "Small wonder, Sībawayh is an imposter (*dadjdjal*), a devil (*shayṭān*)" (Abū al-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* 87-88). In the version of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Mūsā's comment is mitigated to the less offensive "Sībawayh is a *djinn* himself" (*Tārīkh Baghdād* XII,197).

We find an even more striking example of alteration of information about Sībawayh in the way the story of the *mas'ala zunbūriyya* is presented in Arab tradition. As Talmon (1986) points out, it is difficult to say which of the versions is the oldest and in what chronological order the alterations have taken place. But it is clear that all the additional information — that is, all the information that has nothing to do with the grammatical discussion as such — invariably speaks in favour of Sībawayh.

To summarize the above, we can say that the way the references developed through time, reflects a growing interest in Sībawayh and, moreover, a growing concern about his reputation. The *Kitāb Sībawayh* itself had never been completely exempt from criticism. However, the negative way the Kufan grammarians — like al-Farrā' and al-Kisā'i — react to Sībawayh's theories was gradually emphasized more and more, whereas references to Basran critical commentaries — notably of al-Ziyādī and al-Mubarrad — diminished as time went by. Although Sībawayh does not seem to receive special attention in any of the biographical works, when compared to other grammarians, his *Kitāb* is undoubtedly central. All biographers refer to those grammarians who have studied and transmitted the book, thus creating the unbroken chain of Basran grammarians — via Sībawayh back to Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī, the alleged founder of grammar, and 'Alī b. Abī al-Ṭālib — found at the end of Ibn al-Anbārī's *Nuzha*.

Collating the biographical references to Sībawayh with references to Sībawayh and his *Kitāb* in grammatical sources is our next step. It is, however, rather difficult to obtain enough information. We suffer from a lack of early sources, and moreover, the sources which we do have often lack indices.<sup>18</sup> The references from the grammatical sources which I was able to find, do give us some valuable information. They corroborate two points which also emerge from the biographical sources: (1) the growing importance of the *Kitāb Sībawayh* as compared to other grammatical works and (2) the central role of the *Kitāb*, at least from the time of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab onwards.

The oldest grammatical sources — al-Farrā's (d. 207/822) *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān* and *al-Mudhakkār wa-al-mu'annath*, the *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān* of al-Akhfash and al-Māzinī's (d. 248/862) *Kitāb al-taṣrīf* — do not mention Sībawayh at all. We then face a gap in the extant sources of about thirty-five years. After that, we find in al-Mubarrad's (d. 285/898) *Muqtaḍab* sixty-nine references to Sībawayh, thirty-nine to al-Khalīl, twenty-eight to al-Akhfash, and nineteen to al-Māzinī. In his *Madjālīs*, Tha'lab (d. 291/904) refers to Sībawayh thirteen times; there are six references to al-Akhfash and four to al-Māzinī. That he refers seventy-seven times to al-Farrā' and thirty-nine times to al-Kisā'i bespeaks his Kufan lineage.

The tendency to rely more and more on the *Kitāb Sībawayh* than on any other grammatical study appears from the works of, amongst others, al-Zadjdjādī (d. 311/923), al-Zadjdjādī (d. 337/949 or 340/953) and al-Fārisī (d. 377/987). Ibn Shuqayr (d. 318/930), with only one reference — "Sībawayh the grammarian" —, seems to be an exception.<sup>19</sup>

The references to Sībawayh in grammatical sources do not corroborate the strong anti-Sībawayh reactions from Kufan side, which the biographical sources present. And, contrary to what Arab tradition would have us believe, the Basrans did have criticism of substance. We know for sure that both al-Akhfash and al-Mubarrad presented points of disagreement with Sībawayh.<sup>20</sup>

From a chronological point of view, the collation of the biographical and grammatical references results in the following: The first biographical sources available come from precisely the same period of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab. Many of the stories are transmitted through *isnāds* that include the names of either of them. It is unfortunate that we do not have their own *ṭabaqāt* works, the more so as it seems that they have been important — perhaps even responsible — for the way the *Kitāb Sībawayh* found its place in tradition.

*References to the Basran and Kufan schools of grammar*

In discussing the development of the Arab grammatical tradition, modern scholars tend to use the terms *madrassa* or *madhhab* to denote "school". We do not find *madrassa* in classical Arab literature, but the term *madhhab* is frequently used.<sup>21</sup> According to Lane, a *madhhab* is "a way, course, mode, or manner of acting" and *dhahaba ilâ madhhab* is "he betook himself to ... a belief, a creed, a persuasion, a doctrine, an opinion, a tenet, or a body of tenets or articles of belief". In the field of Islamic jurisprudence, *madhhab* developed from a personal approach to a common method and hence into a technical term for "school".<sup>22</sup> It seems worthwhile to find out if in the Arab grammatical tradition *madhhab* developed in the same way.

In trying to learn how grammarians and their biographers referred to the dichotomy of the schools, the sources mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter have been scrutinized. Due attention has been paid to the following two points: (1) Clear-cut references to Basran or Kufan grammarians as a group; (2) The use of the term *madhhab* in relation to individual grammarians or grammarians as a group. This means that only with regard to the use of the term *madhhab*, references to individual grammarians, without mention of their alleged Basran or Kufan background, have been taken into account (*madhhab al-Akhfash*, *madhhab al-Farrâ*). Sentences like *qâla al-Farrâ* have been disregarded, contrary to, for instance, the explicit *ahl al-Kûfa*, *al-Kisâ'i wa-al-Farrâ* ('Tha'lab, *Madjâlis* 427).

From the biographical sources two major points emerge: (1) they usually refer to Basrans and Kufans as *ahl al-Baṣra/ahl al-Kûfa* or as *Baṣriyyûn/Kûfiyyûn*; (2) *madhhab* is used for a personal approach as well as for the approach of a group, i.e., Basran or Kufan grammarians.

Al-Tirmidhî (d. ca. 280/893) seems to be the only biographer to have written his *risâla* not as a mere survey of the grammarians' lives, but as a proclamation of Kufan supremacy over Basran grammarians. He refers to the Basrans as *ahl al-Baṣra* (139b, 140a, 142a), to the Kufans as *ahl al-Kûfa* (140a, 143b). He does not discuss grammatical differences, but alludes to the Basran lack of knowledge and understanding of Arab poetry – which we have come to know as the traditional difference between the Basrans and Kufans. With al-Tirmidhî, *madhhab* is a personal approach (for instance *madhhab Abî 'Amr*, *madhhab al-Aṣma'î*; 140a, 140b, 143a).

In al-Muqri's (d. 349/960) *Akhbâr* there is only one single reference to the Kufans (22: *ahl al-Kûfa*) and none to the Basrans. His contemporary Abû al-Tayyib (d. 351/962) supposedly wrote the *Marâtib* because he was annoyed that nobody seemed to bother any more about who was who:

They say 'al-Akhfash said' and do not differentiate between Abû al-Khattâb al-Akhfash and Abû al-Hasan Sa'îd b. Mas'ada al-Akhfash, both Basrans on the one hand, and Abû al-Hasan 'Alî b. al-Mubâ-rak al-Akhfash, a Kufan, on the other (*Marâtib* 2).

So it is not surprising to find ten references to Kufans and twelve to Basrans in the *Marâtib* (*ahl al-Kûfa/al-Kûfiyyûn* 88, 94, 95; *ahl al-Basra/al-Basriyyûn* 84, 85, 92, 93; both Kufans and Basrans 26, 47, 68, 71, 74, 86). Both Basrans and Kufans have 'ilm and 'ulamâ', according to Abû al-Ṭayyib, but he uses *madhhab* only as a personal approach (*Marâtib* 88, of al-Far-râ', al-Kisâ'i and Sibawayh).

Al-Sîrâfî (d. 368/978), a grammarian himself, includes in his *Akhbâr* only Basran grammarians. He refers to them as a group (*ahl al-Basra/al-Basriyyûn*) when he explicitly distinguishes them from the Kufans (*ahl al-Kûfa/al-Kûfiyyûn*; *Akhbâr* 56, 44, 108, 109). Although he does not touch upon differences between the two groups as to grammatical content, he is the first to use the term *madhhab* as a group's approach. Additionally, he tells us that there are two approaches (*madhhabân*) and that some grammarians combine the two, *khalata al-madhabayn* (*Akhbâr* 108; *khalata 'ilm al-Basriyyîn bi-'ilm al-Kûfiyyîn*: 109). Al-Sîrâfî starts to use this expression when he discusses the generation of his own teachers, Ibn Kaysân (d. 299/911 or 320/932), Ibn Shuqayr (d. 318/930) and Ibn al-Khayyât (d. 320/932).

Al-Zubaydî (d. 379/989) classifies grammarians according to geographical origin.<sup>23</sup> He, too, speaks of a Basran and Kufan *madhhab* (*Tabaqât* 104 (*madhhab aṣḥâbihi*, i.e., the colleagues of al-Mubarrad), 141, 153, 215), which some grammarians combine and others explicitly do not (notably Tha'lab: 141; also al-Dînawarî: 215). He also makes mention of differences between the two groups (*ikhtilâf al-Basriyyîn wa-al-Kûfiyyîn*: 215), but only discusses points of disagreement between individual grammarians.

Al-Marzubânî (d. 384/993), like al-Zubaydî, has a geographical classification. He presents Basrans and Kufans in opposition to each other, not only regarding a general rivalry between the two cities (*Nûr al-qabas* 41-42, 226-27),<sup>24</sup> but also in relation to differences and disagreements between the grammarians in particular (for instance 110, 224, 245). Al-Marzubânî confines his use of the term *madhhab* to denote a personal approach (*Nûr al-qabas* 97, 110, 153, also 344).<sup>25</sup>

Ibn al-Nadîm (d. 385/995), who also speaks of differences between the grammarians, uses *madhhab* – contrary to al-Marzubânî – only in relation to Basrans and Kufans as a group (*Fihrist* 66, 110, 111, 115 [*khalata al-madhabayn*], 120). With al-Tanûkhî (d. 442/1050) we find *madhhab*

denoting both a personal (*Târîkh* 27, 76) and a group's approach (31 (*madhhab al-Baghdâdiyyîn*), 51, 178).

Ibn al-Anbârî (d. 577/1181) clearly depicts the grammarians as representatives of two diverging groups. Whenever possible, he mentions a grammarian's descent (*min ahl al-Baṣra/Kûfa*: *Nuzha* 21, 22, 26, 56, 71, 79, 132, 139, 144, 184) or his inclination to one of the *madhhabayn* (124, 136, 143, 149, 150, 151, 152, 158, 173). Nonetheless, Ibn al-Anbârî also uses *madhhab* to refer to a personal approach (*Nuzha* 30, 85, 195).

Regarding references to the Basran/Kufan dichotomy, the grammatical sources apparently show similar features: grammarians refer to Kufans and Basrans as a group as *ahl al-Kûfa/al-Kûfiyyûn* and *ahl al-Baṣra/al-Baṣriyyûn* respectively, and they use the term *madhhab* for both a personal and a group's approach.

In the earliest sources, however, no trace is to be found of a dichotomy between a Basran and a Kufan school. Neither Sībawayh nor al-Farrâ' mention their colleagues as belonging to two distinct schools. To my knowledge, al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ does not mention Basrans or Kufans as a group at all.

Al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898) and Tha'lab (d. 291/904) are the first grammatical sources to allude to two different groups of grammarians. With al-Mubarrad the references to Basrans are scarce (*Muqtaḍab, al-Baṣriyyûn* I, 240, 245, 248; II, 82; III, 56) and he refers to the Kufans only once (*al-Kûfiyyûn* II, 153).<sup>26</sup> Al-Mubarrad uses the term *madhhab* only sparingly to refer to both a group of grammarians and an individual one.<sup>27</sup> In Tha'lab's *Madjâlîs*, which specifically deals with grammatical discussions, not only differences between individual grammarians come to light, but this grammarian also refers to the Basrans and the Kufans as a group: *ahl al-Baṣra* sixteen times, *al-Baṣriyyûn* three times, *aṣḥâbunâ* "our colleagues" six times and, of the two references to the *ahl al-Kûfa*, he makes one explicit as "*al-Kisâ'î wa-al-Farrâ'*" (*Madjâlîs* 427). He uses the term *madhhab* only once, in *qâla ahl al-Baṣra ... wa-hâdhâ madhhabuhum* (*Madjâlîs* 422).

The tendency to refer to the two groups of grammarians in relation to diverging theories and opinions grows stronger with al-Zadjjâdj (d. 311/923), al-Zadjjâdjî (d. 340/951) and al-Sîrâfî (d. 368/978).<sup>28</sup> Frequent references to *ahl al-Baṣra/al-Baṣriyyûn* and, though less in number, to *ahl al-Kûfa/al-Kûfiyyûn* appear in the texts of these three grammarians. Not all occurrences refer to disagreements between the two groups; sometimes the fact that Kufans and Basrans – or some of them – agree is stressed (al-Zadjjâdj, *Mâ yansarif* 7, 101; al-Zadjjâdjî, *Djumal* 84, 98; al-Sîrâfî, *Sharḥ* I, 184; II, 104, 137-8) and sometimes the grammarians are referred to

as one group, the *nahwiyyûn* (al-Zadjdjâdj, *Mâ yanşarif* 17, 29, 101 (a.o.); al-Sîrâfî, *Sharḥ* II,145; also al-Fârisî (d. 377/987), *Aqsâm* 207).

It is striking that al-Zadjdjâdjî points out that the Kufans use a different vocabulary, “a technical language, probably for the greater part incomprehensible to someone who has not studied their writings” (al-Zadjdjâdjî, *Îdâh* 79-80).<sup>29</sup> This seems to be somewhat exaggerated; the only other explicit reference from an early date to an especially Kufan terminology comes from Ibn Kaysân (d. 299/911 or 320/932), who states that what the Basrans call *ism al-fâ’il*, is referred to by the Kufans as *al-fi’l al-dâ’im* (*al-Muwaffaq* 108b).

In grammatical texts the term *madhhab* appears to be used eventually to denote a group’s approach. But at the same time it remains in use as a personal approach as well and as a solution for a specific grammatical issue. Although al-Zadjdjâdj sometimes refers to a *madhhab* of the Basrans (*Mâ yanşarif* 52, 63), his use of the term is generally restricted to personal opinions on specific phenomena or issues (frequently *madhhab Sîbawayh*, but also *madhhab al-Akhfash* 8, *madhhabî* 52). Moreover, expressions like *wa hâdhâ madhhabun* (63, 93), *wa-kâna li-Abî al-‘Abbâs madhhabun fî hâdhâ* (76) and *wa-‘alâ madhâhib man khâlafahu* (122) confirm that according to al-Zadjdjâdj there were more than two *madhâhib* – not only in general, but also for individual grammarians.

With al-Zadjdjâdjî it appears to be the other way round: the Basrans and the Kufans each have their own *madhhab* (*Djumal* 112, 165, 281, 341; *Îdâh* 56, 60, 72, 93, 107, 132), but individual grammarians can have one too. Al-Zadjdjâdjî’s exposition of the different opinions on the declination of the dual and the plural clearly shows that there are more than two *madhâhib* (*Îdâh* 130-134).

Derived from the texts of al-Sîrâfî is the fact that the term *madhhab* remained in use for both a personal and a group’s approach (*Idghâm* 132, 136, 144; *Sharḥ* I,222). Moreover, in linguistic studies it is not restricted to grammarians’ opinions, as the expression “*wa-madhhab al-‘Arab*” shows (*Idghâm* 136; *Sharḥ* II,76; also al-Zadjdjâdj, *Mâ yanşarif* 76: *fa-hâdhâ madhhab ahl al-Hidjâz*).<sup>30</sup>

From the above references to the Basra/Kufa dichotomy in grammatical sources, it appears that when grammarians want to emphasize that they belong to one group which opposes the other, they use the originally geographical denotation of *ahl al-Basra/al-Basriyyûna* and *ahl al-Kûfa/al-Kûfiyyûna*. They do not have a technical term for “school”. *Madhhab* sometimes comes very close to denote school, when it is used to indicate a group’s approach, but then again it remains in use as a personal approach as well. In this respect, it is a striking fact that *madhhab* as an individual approach seems to be mostly restricted to the early grammarians. Al-Kha-

lil, Sībawayh, al-Akhfash, al-Kisâ'î, al-Farrâ', and sometimes Qutrûb and al-Mubarrad, are said to have their own *madhhab*.

The results of our investigation into the biographical and grammatical sources seem to be consistent. As far as the way of referring to the dichotomy is concerned, both grammarians and biographers started to make references to Basrans and Kufans in the second half of the third/ninth century. As time went by, the references in grammatical sources grew in number and were more and more related to grammatical differences. It is therefore fair to assume that the biographers felt the need to identify the grammarians' geographical origin with an academic lineage. In both grammatical and biographical sources the term *madhhab* was introduced. It gradually developed from a personal approach to a group's approach, but it did not come to denote "school" as it has been discussed in the previous chapter.

#### *Sībawayh and the formation of the schools*

When we compare the results of our survey of references to the *Kitâb Sībawayh* in biographical and grammatical sources with those of the references to the Basra/Kufa dichotomy, we arrive at some interesting conclusions. In the grammatical sources, the references to Sībawayh and his *Kitâb* start to occur in the second half of the third/ninth century. At about the same time, we find the first references to Basrans and Kufans. The sources we have from that period are the works of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab. When we look at the sources from the beginning of the fourth/tenth century onwards – the works of al-Zadjdjâdj, al-Zadjdjâdjî and al-Sirâfî – we see more and more references to the *Kitâb Sībawayh* appearing in conjunction with a growing number of references to Basra and Kufa. And, moreover, these are related to both grammatical differences and agreements between the grammarians.

Around the middle of the fourth/tenth century we see a gradual change in the use of the term *madhhab*. The grammarians and the biographers of this century start to use the term not only to denote an individual approach – especially when referring to the early grammarians – but also to denote the approach of an entire group. Sometimes they even give the impression that there are two distinct *madhâhib*, a Kufan and a Basran one. Simultaneous with this change in usage of the term *madhhab*, we see Sībawayh's name and the reputation of the *Kitâb* being firmly established in the grammatical tradition while biographers more and more emphasize an anti-Sībawayh reaction from Kufan side.

The prelude to the development of these apparently related aspects – Sībawayh's establishment in tradition, the change in the use of the term

*madhhab* and the strong reaction of the Kufans — must therefore have occurred in the time of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab. Prior to that there are no references to Sībawayh, nor to Basrans and Kufans and after that we see the *Kitāb* in a strong position with a common Basran *madhhab* to lean on it.

After a scrutiny of the sources, the Arab tradition gives us reason to believe that al-Mubarrad played an active and important role in the above-mentioned development and even set it in motion. At the beginning of his career, he brought forward critical remarks on the *Kitāb Sībawayh*. Later on in life he is said to have apologized for this deed and he withdrew most of his criticisms. His *Muqtaḍab* clearly shows the influence of the *Kitāb* and includes many references to Sībawayh's ideas. It provides the first evidence of the consolidation of the *Kitāb Sībawayh* within the Arab grammatical tradition. It is for these reasons that al-Mubarrad is subsequently put on centre stage.



## AL-MUBARRAD'S SOCIAL CONTACTS

In our investigation into the reception of the *Kitāb Sibawayh* and the alleged formation of the schools of Basra and Kufa, it has been suggested that al-Mubarrad was the key-figure. New questions consequently arise: Was al-Mubarrad's criticism of *Sibawayh* originally his own? And to what extent did he change his critical attitude later in life and did he withdraw his remarks?

The chapter which follows this one will answer these questions on the basis of a search into the development of al-Mubarrad's grammatical ideas and theories. However, the information on al-Mubarrad's grammatical position first needs a context — the subject of the present chapter. If we want to say something about al-Mubarrad's originality, we need to know from whom he may have borrowed his ideas. Further, if we want to discover what happened to his critical remarks, some knowledge about his pupils will certainly be helpful. When we know who al-Mubarrad's teachers and pupils were, we are able to establish an important part of the line of transmitters of the *Kitāb Sibawayh*. Moreover, the transmission-line and al-Mubarrad's position within that line is the basis of our information on the reception of the *Kitāb*.

The first paragraph of this chapter presents a short description of his career as a grammarian. In the second paragraph attention is given to his professional contacts. Inasmuch as al-Mubarrad is better known as an *adīb*, a man of letters, rather than as a grammarian, the third paragraph presents his most important contacts outside the circle of grammarians. Finally, the fourth paragraph will discuss the historical background of al-Mubarrad's life.

As in the previous chapter, our information is derived from both biographical and grammatical works. With regard to the biographical sources reference has been made to those mentioned in the previous chapter. Additionally, al-Suyûtī's *Bughyat al-wu'ât*, al-Qiftī's *Inbâh al-ruwât*, Ibn Khalikân's *Wafayât* and Yâqût's *Irshâd* have been added to the list. Of the grammatical sources, those which include discussions (the *Madjâlîs*-works of Tha'lab and al-Zadjdjâdjî and al-Suyûtī's *al-Ashbâh wa-al-nazâ'ir fî al-nahw*) have especially been taken into account as far as al-Mubarrad's professional contacts are concerned.

*Life and works of al-Mubarrad*

Abû al-'Abbâs Muhammad b. Yazîd, known as al-Mubarrad,<sup>1</sup> was born on 10 *Dhû al-Hijja* 210/24 March 826 in Basra. He was a descendant of the Azdî clan of Thumâla from the Yemen. Nothing is known about his childhood and early life, except that he had started his grammatical studies when he was still very young.

Al-Mubarrad's teachers in grammar were apparently more than satisfied with their pupil. It is said that al-Mâzinî, one of his teachers, sometimes had al-Mubarrad take over his lessons, while he himself attended the *ḥalqa* merely as a member of the audience (al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât* 101). Al-Sidjistânî, another teacher, is said to have sent a youth from Nîshâpûr, who wanted to read the *Kitâb Sibawayh*, to al-Mubarrad (al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât* 101; al-Tanûkhî, *Târîkh* 56).

Al-Mubarrad was still rather unknown when in 246/860 the caliph al-Mutawakkil sent for him at Sâmarra'. The caliph and his *kâtib*, al-Faḥ b. Khâqân, had disagreed on the reading of a particular verse from the Qur'ân; they wanted al-Mubarrad to be their judge. Al-Mubarrad who was afraid to offend the caliph, settled the matter very diplomatically (al-Tanûkhî, *Târîkh* 54-55; al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât* 102-103).<sup>2</sup>

After this introduction to the court al-Mubarrad stayed for some time in Sâmarra'. Al-Zubaydî (*Ṭabaqât* 103-104) tells us about another visit to the *madjlis* of al-Mutawakkil. But al-Mubarrad never became a regular visitor, let alone an official court-grammarian.

He went to Baghdad after the violent death of al-Mutawakkil and al-Faḥ b. Khâqân (see p. 35) in 247/861. There he started his career as a grammarian and a teacher in the *Djâmi' al-Manṣûr*.<sup>3</sup> He is said to have introduced the *Kitâb Sibawayh* in the Baghdadian grammarians' circles (al-Tanûkhî, *Târîkh* 55). This last statement seems unlikely because al-Akhfash (d. 215/830 or 221/835), al-Djarmî (d. 225/839) and al-Mâzinî (d. 249/863), who all were acquainted with the *Kitâb*, had also been active in Baghdad at the time.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, al-Mubarrad soon acquired a reputation. In a very short time he assembled a considerable *ḥalqa* which even attracted several pupils of other grammarians.

Al-Mubarrad's fame and authority grew steadily. Tradition tells us that in his time nobody was his equal, that he even outdid his teachers al-Djarmî and al-Mâzinî. He was praised for his intelligence and his scholarly qualities, for his good memory and his excellence in *adab*. He knew the Arabic language very well, was exceedingly eloquent and a good teacher. He had a quick mind, was bright and straightforward in his criticisms. In short, according to the sources, al-Mubarrad stood model for the intel-

lectual of his time. Just one negative characteristic is imputed to his person: he reportedly was very avaricious (al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 106).<sup>5</sup>

Al-Mubarrad was additionally famous for his poetical activities. And indeed, his best-known work, the *Kāmil*, includes many poetical verses. Although he concerned himself especially with reciting and transmitting poetry,<sup>6</sup> he was also a poet himself. It is narrated that he spontaneously composed a poem for an unexpected visitor and that he sometimes conducted his correspondence in verse. The sources make frequent mention of poets' gatherings including al-Mubarrad which resulted in carousals. While sipping from wine-cups verses were intermittently composed and recited.

Al-Mubarrad was married to the daughter of a Yemenite *sharīf* and was the father of at least one son and one daughter.<sup>7</sup> He died in Baghdad in the year 285/898 at the age of 75. He was buried in the cemetery near the *Bāb al-Kūfa*.

From the list of works which are said to have been written by al-Mubarrad, one can tell that he was a very versatile man. In addition to literature and poetry, he composed works on etymology, gardening and gardens, astronomy and the Qur'ān. The following books on grammar are attributed to him: *al-Muqtaḍab*; *al-Maqṣūr wa-al-mamdūd*; *al-Mudhakkar wa-al-mu'annath*; *al-Madkhal fī al-naḥw*; *al-I'rāb*; *Ma'nā Kitāb al-Awsaṭ lil-Akhfash*; *al-Hurūf*; *al-Taṣrīf*. On the *Kitāb Sībawayh* he wrote: *al-Madkhal ilā Sībawayh*; *al-Radd 'alā Kitāb Sībawayh*; *al-Ziyāda al-muntaza'a min Sībawayh*; *Sharḥ shawāhid Kitāb Sībawayh*; *Ma'nā Kitāb Sībawayh*. And on the grammarians from Basra he wrote *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-akhbāruhum*.<sup>8</sup>

#### *Al-Mubarrad's professional contacts*

According to the traditional account, al-Mubarrad started reading the *Kitāb Sībawayh* under the guidance of al-Djarmī. After the latter's death he continued his studies under al-Māzinī. Both teachers had read the *Kitāb* under al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ who was the first grammarian to transmit it. Let us examine in the pages to follow the lives of al-Mubarrad's most important teachers, ending this paragraph with his pupils.

Ṣāliḥ b. Ishāq Abū 'Umar al-Djarmī (d. 225/839)<sup>9</sup> had initially studied law and subsequently linguistics in Basra. He had lived and worked for a while in Isfahan before he went to Baghdad, at the beginning of the third/ninth century. There he taught grammar and wrote grammatical books until his death. He was a wealthy and God-fearing man; he also had a hot temper which earned him the nickname "the Barker" (*al-nabbāḥ*).

Judging from the data of al-Mubarrad's personal history and from what we know of al-Djarmî, it is unlikely that they had frequent contact. At the time al-Mubarrad was born in Basra, al-Djarmî was either in Isfahan or in Baghdad; when al-Djarmî died in Baghdad, al-Mubarrad was only fifteen years old and probably had never visited the capital. Al-Djarmî's apparent influence on al-Mubarrad's ideas (see Chapter Four) must have been indirect, probably through al-Mâzinî.

Abû 'Uthmân Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Baqīya al-Mâzinî (d. 248/863)<sup>10</sup> was a friend and a pupil of al-Djarmî.<sup>11</sup> He came from Basra but spent most of his time in Baghdad. He was a frequent visitor to the court on the invitation of both al-Wāthiq (d. 232/247) and al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861). According to al-Djāhiz (d. 255/868-9), he was one of the three most prominent grammarians of his time, along with al-Riyāshî and al-Ziyādî. Al-Mubarrad admired al-Mâzinî and claimed that he knew of no better grammarian after Sībawayh. Yet al-Mâzinî was of the opinion that someone who intended to write an exhaustive grammar like Sībawayh's *Kitāb al-taṣrīf* is considered to be his most important contribution to Arabic grammar.<sup>12</sup>

According to some sources, al-Riyāshî and al-Sidjistānî were also al-Mubarrad's teachers.

Al-'Abbās b. al-Faradj Abû al-Fadl al-Riyāshî (d. 257/870)<sup>13</sup> is said to have read the *Kitāb Sībawayh* under al-Mâzinî. According to the latter, al-Riyāshî eventually knew it better than he himself did. Al-Riyāshî was a grammarian and an *adīb* of high rank. He was famous for his excellent memory and his good judgement. Some of the sources tell us that whenever the Basran grammarians disagreed among themselves, they went to al-Riyāshî to solve the problem. Al-Riyāshî spent some time in Sāmarrā' — during the reign of al-Mutawakkil — and went to Baghdad on several occasions but always returned to Basra. He gave grammar lessons to Tha'lab (see p. 33)<sup>14</sup> who greatly respected him, and to al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān. The grammarian Abû Bakr b. Abî al-Azhar (see p. 34) and the poet Abû Shurā'a also belonged to his acquaintances. Al-Riyāshî died at about the age of eighty after the *Zandj* invaded Basra.<sup>15</sup>

Sahl b. Muḥammad Abû Hātim al-Sidjistānî (d. 255/869)<sup>16</sup> lived and worked in Basra where he died. He read the *Kitāb Sībawayh* twice under al-Akhfash but he reportedly never became a really good grammarian. According to al-Mubarrad, he was not successful in making a name for himself in Baghdad. He was more interested in *lugha*, Qur'ān-reading and especially poetry;<sup>17</sup> he himself was a poet of average level.<sup>18</sup>

Al-Mubarrad studied grammar under al-Mâzinî together with Abû Dhakwān, al-Tawwazî and Ibn Abî Zur'a.

Very little is known about al-Qâsim b. Ismâ'îl Abû Dhakwân.<sup>19</sup> He lived in Basra and fled from the *Zandj* to Sirâf, a small port in the Persian Gulf. He was married to the mother of one of his colleagues, al-Tawwazî. His year of death is unknown.

'Abdallâh b. Muhammad b. Hârûn Abû Muhammad al-Tawwazî (230/844 or 233/847)<sup>20</sup> was a *mawlâ* of Quraysh. He was famous for his knowledge of poetry; al-Mubarrad considered him to be even superior to al-Mâzinî and al-Riyâshî. He reportedly studied the *Kitâb Sibawayh* under al-Djarmî and al-Mâzinî, like al-Mubarrad, although he probably was much older.

About Abû Ya'lâ (or, as some say, Abû al-'Alâ') Muhammad b. Abî Zur'a al-Bâhilî (d. 257/870)<sup>21</sup> it is said that he was not of the same quality as al-Mubarrad was. His fellow grammarians called him "*ghulâm al-Mâzinî*" because of his reliance on al-Mâzinî. He wrote the above-mentioned (p. 15) *Nukat 'alâ Kitâb Sibawayh*. Abû Ya'lâ, like al-Riyâshî, became a victim of the *Zandj*-revolt; he died when they invaded Basra.

Al-Mubarrad's pupils were reportedly al-Zadjdjâdj, Ibn Kaysân, Ibn al-Sarrâdj, Mabramân, Ibn Darastawayh and Niftawayh to whom we now turn.

Ibrâhîm b. al-Sarî b. Sahl Abû Ishâq al-Zadjdjâdj (d. 311/923 or 316/928)<sup>22</sup> originally was a glassgrinder. He wanted to be educated as a grammarian and offered al-Mubarrad his services and two-thirds of his income in exchange for lessons. Al-Mubarrad eagerly accepted the offer. Al-Zadjdjâdj studied some time with al-Mubarrad, until he became the teacher of al-Qâsim b. 'Ubaydallâh b. Sulaymân — the later vizier to the caliph al-Mu'tadid (d. 289/902). According to the sources, al-Zadjdjâdj reputedly was one of the greatest linguists of his time.<sup>23</sup> He died in Baghdad being more than eighty years of age.

It is said that al-Zadjdjâdj was originally Tha'lab's pupil. But when al-Mubarrad came to Baghdad, and in a very short time had assembled a rather extensive *halqa*, Tha'lab became curious and sent two of his pupils, al-Zadjdjâdj and Ibn Hâ'ik,<sup>24</sup> to size up the situation. Al-Zadjdjâdj was immediately seized with enthusiasm about al-Mubarrad's method and theories and decided to leave Tha'lab in favour of the new teacher. Al-Mubarrad ordered him to get rid of his Kufan books — the story continues — and subsequently gave al-Zadjdjâdj the first authorized copy of the *Kitâb Sibawayh*.<sup>25</sup>

Abû al-Hasan Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Kaysân (d. 299/911 or 320/932)<sup>26</sup> lived and worked in Baghdad.<sup>27</sup> He studied grammar under both al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab. According to tradition, he combined Kufan and Basran theories; he wrote a book on the differences between Kufans and Basrans (see p. 14). Most sources tell us that he was more

inclined to the Basrans; he refused, however, to teach the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* (see p. 18).<sup>28</sup>

Muhammad b. al-Sarî Abû Bakr Ibn al-Sarrâdj (d. 316/928)<sup>29</sup> was al-Mubarrad's favourite pupil. He was a grammarian and *adîb*; his poetry was well respected. The sources tell us that he was trustworthy, critical and intelligent. After reading the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* under al-Mubarrad, Ibn al-Sarrâdj gave up grammar for some time and directed his attention to philosophy and music. Eventually, he went back to his linguistic studies. His best-known work, *al-Uṣûl fî al-naḥw* "the foundations of grammar",<sup>30</sup> was considered by some of his fellow-grammarians to be superior to the *Muqtaḍab* of al-Mubarrad, but Ibn al-Sarrâdj would not hear of this judgement.

Abû Bakr Muhammad b. 'Alî b. Ismâ'il (d. 326/938), known as Mabrâman,<sup>31</sup> came from the area of Khûzistân to Basra in order to learn grammar from al-Mubarrad and al-Zadjdjâdj. He reportedly was a very disagreeable person with strange habits.<sup>32</sup> In spite of this, he had famous pupils — like Abû 'Alî al-Fârisî and al-Sîrâfî — for whom he read the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* for one hundred *dînârs*. He died in al-Ahwâz.

Abû Muhammad 'Abdallâh b. Dja'far b. Darastawayh (d. 347/958)<sup>33</sup> apparently was an excellent grammarian and *adîb* who studied under al-Mubarrad and the famous philologist Ibn Qutayba (d. 270/884). He was of Persian descent, but lived and worked in Baghdad, where he died. A long list of works, all considered to be very valuable, is attributed to him. According to the sources he was more inclined to the Basran school of grammar.

Ibrâhîm b. Muhammad b. 'Arafa Niftawayh (d. 323/935)<sup>34</sup> reportedly took lessons from both al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab and combined Basran and Kufan theories. According to the sources, he was an excellent *adîb* who knew very much about poetry and was a poet himself. Additionally, he was a Shâfi'ite jurist and a trustworthy transmitter of *ḥadîths*. His grammatical skills were limited, however. He was known as an honest and amiable man, although he was extremely ugly. He died in Baghdad and was buried in the cemetery near the *Bâb al-Kûfa*.

Al-Mubarrad's fame spread to Egypt through his pupils Abû 'Alî al-Dînawarî and Muhammad b. Wallâd.

Abû 'Alî Ahmad b. Dja'far (d. 289/902)<sup>35</sup> came from al-Dînawar to Basra, where he received the *idjâza* to transmit the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* from al-Mâzinî. He married Tha'lab's daughter, but did not turn to his father-in-law for grammar lessons. Instead, he read grammar under al-Mubarrad, something which Tha'lab reportedly took offence at. Al-Dînawarî later went to Egypt where he died. According to the sources, al-Dînawarî was interested in the differences between the Basran and Kufan theories;

he himself opted for the Basrans and especially for the ideas of al-Akhfash al-Awsat.

Abû al-Husayn Muḥammad b. al-Walîd b. Wallâd al-Tamîmî's (d. 298/910-11)<sup>36</sup> family was of Basran origin. His father, Wallâd b. Muḥammad, is considered to be the first Egyptian grammarian of any importance. He had studied under al-Khalîl b. Aḥmad before he went to Egypt.<sup>37</sup> Muḥammad b. Wallâd started his grammatical studies in Egypt under the above-mentioned al-Dînawarî.<sup>38</sup> Then he went to Baghdad where he read the *Kitâb Sibawayh* under al-Mubarrad. Afterwards, Muḥammad b. Wal-lâd refused to pay his lessons because he wanted to read his copy to al-Mubarrad in order to get an *idjâza*. However, al-Mubarrad was reluctant to do this and Muḥammad b. Wallâd had to seek the support of the authorities to compel al-Mubarrad to let him read the book to him.<sup>39</sup> Muḥammad b. Wallâd died in Egypt at the age of fifty.

It appears from the sources that al-Mubarrad had very little contact with grammarians outside the circle of his own teachers and pupils. The only well-known grammarian with whom he seems to have had professional discussions – and with whom he did not have a teacher/pupil relationship – was Tha'lab.<sup>40</sup>

Abû al-'Abbâs Aḥmad b. Yahyâ, called Tha'lab (d. 291/904),<sup>41</sup> became known as the *imâm* of Kufan grammar. He was born in 200/815. At the age of sixteen he started his grammatical studies. Tha'lab was famous for his excellent memory – he knew all the works of al-Kisâ'î and al-Farrâ' by heart –, his trustworthiness as a transmitter and his great knowledge of linguistics and poetry. He learned grammar from Salama b. 'Âsim (d. ca. 240/854), a pupil of al-Farrâ'. Although Tha'lab also had lessons from al-Riyâshî, he is said to have had little affinity with Basran grammatical theories. He read the *Kitâb Sibawayh* without the guidance of a teacher. Tha'lab died in Baghdad and was buried in the cemetery near the *Bâb al-Shâm*.

According to tradition, al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab were ardent rivals, representing respectively the Basran and the Kufan school of grammar. The sources tell us that, though they highly respected each other, they did not really like each other. Every time they met – incidentally or on purpose – they started arguing about grammatical issues. Tha'lab apparently tried to avoid these meetings because he had the feeling that he could not cope with al-Mubarrad's volubility.<sup>42</sup>

Al-Zadjdjâdjî collected the stories about the discussions between al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab and included them in his *Madjâlîs al-'ulamâ'*.<sup>43</sup> Some very interesting themes emerge from al-Zadjdjâdjî's accounts: the public meetings between the putative rivals were not as numerous as

tradition would want us to believe and nearly all the discussions took place in the house of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 256/870).

We do not know on precisely how many occasions al-Mubarrad and Tha‘lab had contact. Both men speak of the first time they met at Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh’s place (Zadjdjādī, *Madjālis* 84, 98) which gives reason to believe that there were other occasions as well. Indeed, judging from al-Zadjdjādī’s accounts, they met on at least three, and at the most five, separate occasions in the house of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh. Moreover, al-Zadjdjādī makes mention of one meeting between them without telling us where it took place.<sup>44</sup> Considering the fact that both al-Mubarrad and Tha‘lab lived and worked in Baghdad, it is not unlikely they met more often, but the sources do not tell us explicitly about the other occasions.<sup>45</sup>

Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, under whose guidance most of the discussions took place, was the son of ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, third in line in the powerful Ṭāhirid dynasty of governors of Khurasan.<sup>46</sup> Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh had been appointed governor of Baghdad by the caliph al-Mutawakkil; he was known for his cultural activities. Tha‘lab met him in 243/857 and they became closely associated. Their relationship lasted until Muḥammad died in 256/870.<sup>47</sup> Al-Mubarrad reportedly had contacts with the Ṭāhirid family, apart from the above-mentioned *madjālis*-meetings, but he does not seem to have been close to them.<sup>48</sup>

If we take into account the fact that the sources do not make any mention of meetings between al-Mubarrad and Tha‘lab except those described by al-Zadjdjādī and, moreover, that most of these meetings took place under the guidance of Tha‘lab’s patron, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, we have to be very cautious in drawing conclusions as to the relationship between al-Mubarrad and Tha‘lab. Are we justified in concluding that there was a life-long rivalry between the two grammarians merely on the basis of the accounts of one single source – al-Zadjdjādī’s *Madjālis*?<sup>49</sup>

Although tradition emphasizes a “rivalry” between al-Mubarrad and Tha‘lab, their grammatical qualities are not doubted. ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir once attended his brother’s *madjālis* where al-Mubarrad and Tha‘lab were in discussion because he wanted to know who was the most learned. Afterwards he had to admit that only a scholar who was even better than both grammarians could decide who was the best and that he himself was therefore not able to do so. (Qiftī, *Inbāh* I:175-76; al-Khatīb, *Tārīkh* V,208). Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Azhar, who is said to have been a *mustamlī* of al-Mubarrad,<sup>50</sup> composed the following poem in praise of the best scholars of his time:



Turn to Mubarrad or to Tha'lab, thou  
 That seek'st with learning to improve thy mind!  
 Be not a fool, like mangy camel shunned:  
 All human knowledge thou with them wilt find.  
 The science of the whole world, East and West,  
 In these two single doctors is combined.<sup>51</sup>

### *Al-Mubarrad's contacts outside the circle of grammarians*

As we have seen above, al-Mubarrad was sent for by al-Mutawakkil at Sâ-marrâ' to solve a grammatical problem between the caliph and al-Fath b. Khâqân. The latter<sup>52</sup> was a son of Khâqân b. 'Urtûdj from the ruling Turkish family at that time. The caliph al-Mu'tasim had adopted al-Fath b. Khâqân when he was seven years old and had raised and educated him together with one of his own sons, the later caliph al-Mutawakkil. Al-Fath b. Khâqân was a very close friend and personal counsellor of al-Mutawakkil. He was appointed personal secretary when al-Mutawakkil came to power; around 235/849 he became the superintendent of works at Sâ-marrâ' and subsequently in 242/856 governor of Egypt. In 247/861 the caliph and his friend were murdered by discontented Turkish soldiers in the palace at Sâ-marrâ'.

Al-Fath b. Khâqân was the mentor of the court literary circle. He not only guided young and promising poets but he supported and befriended the already established ones as well. In his palace in Sâ-marrâ' he owned a splendid library containing a large collection of especially philosophical works. He frequently held an "open house" for scholars and men of letters and organized *madjâlis*. It was at his home that al-Mubarrad met the poets al-Buhturî and al-Saymarî.

Abû 'Ubâda al-Walîd b. 'Ubayd al-Buhturî (d. 289/897)<sup>53</sup> was born in Manbidj. He came to live in Baghdad when al-Mutawakkil became caliph. Al-Fath b. Khâqân introduced him to the court around 232/846 and this was the beginning of his career as a court poet. As time went by, the relationship between al-Mutawakkil and al-Buhturî became rather intimate, much to the annoyance of al-Fath b. Khâqân. After the caliph's death al-Buhturî kept his position as court poet. It seems that he was famous for his style rather than for his originality. During the reign of al-Mu'tamid (d. 279/892) he returned to Manbidj where he died after a long illness.

Abû al-'Anbas Muhammad b. Ishâq al-Saymarî (d. 275/888)<sup>54</sup> was of Kufan origin. He was a jurist and was appointed *qâdî* of Saymara, a village near Basra. Additionally, he was an astrologer, poet and *adîb*. He was famous for his humorous and parodic poetry and that was the reason why he became a courtier in al-Mutawakkil's circle in Sâ-marrâ'. Like al-

Buhturî, he stayed at the court after al-Mutawakkil's death. Al-Şaymarî died in Baghdad and was buried in Kufa.

Al-Mubarrad apparently met both al-Buhturî and al-Şaymarî shortly before al-Mutawakkil's death. We do not know whether he had a special relationship with al-Şaymarî. At any rate, according to al-Tanûkhî (*Târîkh* 61) al-Mubarrad became friends with al-Buhturî. They amused themselves by drinking together and composing verses. How long their friendship lasted is not known.

Among al-Mubarrad's acquaintances we also find the Basran satirical poet 'Abd al-Şamad b. al-Mu'adhdhal b. Ghaylân (d. 240-855).<sup>55</sup> In spite of his rather unagreeable character, his ambition to outdo other poets and his venomous tongue, Ibn Ghaylân was considered to be the most important poet of his time.

Al-Mubarrad was also acquainted with Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm b. al-Mudabbir (d. 279/893; *EI2*, III:880a), boon-companion of al-Mutawakkil, and the less known Basran poets Abû Hiffân 'Abdallâh b. Aḥmad al-Mihzamî (d. ca. 255/869; *EI2*, suppl. 25a) and Abû 'Alî Ismâ'îl b. Ibrâhîm b. Hamdawî (3rd/9th century; *EI2*, suppl. 352a). The Qur'ân-scholar Abû Bakr Aḥmad b. Mûsâ b. Mudjâhid (d. 324/936)<sup>56</sup> and the *qadî* Abû Ishâq Ismâ'îl b. Ishâq (d. 282/895)<sup>57</sup> were both living in Baghdad and personally acquainted with al-Mubarrad; they had great respect for him. Al-Mubarrad, in turn, had great admiration for Ismâ'îl b. Ishâq al-Qâdî; he considered him, along with al-Fath b. Khâqân and al-Djâhîz, to be the most intelligent and learned men of their time.

### *Historical background*

In the above, we have studied al-Mubarrad's contacts on a very personal level. In what directly follows, this information will be related to the more general intellectual context of third/ninth century Iraq.

As we have seen, al-Mubarrad was born in Basra where he spent the first twenty-six years of his life. He grew up in Basra and was educated there too. Like Kufa, Basra originally was a garrison-town which had developed into an important commercial and cultural centre. But after the 'Abbâsids came to power in 132/749, the central roles played by Basra and Kufa were gradually taken over by the new capital, Baghdad. Although commercial and cultural activities did not stop altogether with the rise of the 'Abbâsid dynasty, the foundation and extremely rapid development of Baghdad contributed to the decline of cultural and scholarly life in Basra and Kufa. Eventually, both Basra and Kufa became mere provincial towns.

We have already seen that it is most unlikely that al-Mubarrad had grammar lessons from al-Djarmî. The latter reportedly went to Baghdad before al-Mubarrad was old enough to start his studies, or perhaps even before he was born. The presence of al-Mâzinî, al-Riyâshî and al-Sidjistânî, on the other hand – who all willingly stayed at Basra – indicates that during the first half of the third/ninth century Basran intellectual life was still very lively.<sup>58</sup>

The invasion of the *Zandj* in 257/870 caused enormous damage to the city of Basra. The rebels burnt the mosques of Basra and massacred its inhabitants. Many fled from the city or fell victim to the events. At least two well-known grammarians with whom al-Mubarrad was acquainted – his teacher al-Riyâshî and his fellow-student Ibn Abî Zur'a – died during the *Zandj* rebellion. However, al-Mubarrad had left for Baghdad a long time before that.

The *Madînat al-Salâm*, as Baghdad was called, was established in the second/eighth century by the caliph al-Manşûr and remained the centre of the 'Abbâsîd caliphate until its sacking by the Mongols in 656/1258. The seat of government was temporarily removed from Baghdad: for half a century – from 223/836 till 279/892 – the 'Abbâsîd caliphs ruled the empire from Sâmarrâ'. Although Baghdad missed the immediate radiance of the caliphal court during this period, it remained the commercial and cultural centre of the empire. Baghdad was famous for its many markets; to stimulate trade and industry, a new banking system was introduced. The foundation of the *Bayt al-Hikma* and its library (Pederson 1984.113-15) was an important factor for the encouragement of cultural and scholarly activities. Mainly through the translation of Greek works on philosophy and science, the classical sciences (*'ulûm al-awâ'il*)<sup>59</sup> were incorporated in Islamic culture. From all over the Islamic world, people came to the capital in order to work, trade, or to enjoy scholarly careers.

It was during the above-mentioned period of Sâmarrâ' that al-Mubarrad was active as a grammarian in Baghdad. The caliph al-Mutawakkil had sent for him at Sâmarrâ', where al-Mubarrad stayed for a short time. But he apparently did not concern himself with politics. We do not have any indication of al-Mubarrad wanting to stay at the caliphal court, trying to win the favour of the caliph. Instead, he went to Baghdad, where scholarly activities were in full swing. Al-Mubarrad went straight to the *Djâmi' al-Manşûr* and started a successful grammatical career.

The sources describe al-Mubarrad as a model intellectual of his time. He was indeed an acknowledged grammarian and *adîb*. However, it seems that al-Mubarrad did not enthusiastically participate in two important scholarly activities. Firstly, he did not travel to acquire knowledge from established scholars elsewhere (the *ṭalab al-'ilm*) which was a standard

feature of every scholar's curriculum. We have seen that al-Mubarrad did not travel much at all. Some say that he went to Dīnawar once (Yâqût, *Ir-shâd* I:123-127; *EI*2, II:300a) but this is confirmed nowhere else. He reportedly left his birth place Basra for Sâmarrâ', and from there he went to Baghdad where he died. The second feature which al-Mubarrad "missed" was that a scholar was expected to frequently engage in intellectual discussions and to exchange his ideas with others. As a grammarian, al-Mubarrad had contact with his own teachers and pupils, but his scholarly discussions were almost exclusively with one single colleague, Tha'lab. Al-Mubarrad apparently chose to spend his time with people outside grammatical circles; he drank wine with poets, not with grammarians.<sup>60</sup>

Al-Mubarrad lived during the period of the rise and subsequent decline of the Mu'tazila as the official religious doctrine of the state. He was still very young when, in 218/833, the caliph al-Ma'mûn initiated an inquisition, known as the *Mihna*, to acquire the consent of those interrogated to a Mu'tazilite doctrine — the createdness of the Qur'ân. Al-Mubarrad visited al-Mutawakkil in Sâmarrâ' and it was this caliph who abolished this inquisition thereby allowing orthodoxy to gain the upperhand.<sup>61</sup>

Al-Mubarrad is said to have been a Mu'tazilite (Ibn al-Murtadâ, *Tabaqât* 131), which according to some (Versteegh 1977.150) seems to have been the case with a considerable number of grammarians. However, the biographical information on al-Mubarrad gives no support to this claim. The above-mentioned contacts do not help us in determining the truth of this assertion. Al-Mubarrad did have great admiration for the famous Mu'tazilite al-Djâhiz, but on the other hand, the above-mentioned Qur'ân scholars, Ibn Mudjâhid and Ismâ'îl b. Ishâq al-Qâdî, with whom al-Mubarrad was personally acquainted, were opposed to the Mu'tazilite stance. Moreover, al-Mubarrad went to the *Djâmi' al-Mansûr* to teach grammar. This mosque was situated in the quarter of *Bâb al-Basra*, the stronghold of the traditionalists, amongst whom were the followers of Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855) who led the opposition to the pro-Mu'tazilite policy.<sup>62</sup>

Whether al-Mubarrad held Mu'tazilite views in his grammatical theories is uncertain and checking the validity of this claim goes beyond the goal of this study. What we are able to establish at this point is that on a social and political level, the Mu'tazila did not play any significant role in al-Mubarrad's life.

The victory of traditionalism over the rationalist movement of the Mu'tazila, marked by the end of the *Mihna*, had its influence on the development of intellectual life.<sup>63</sup> The division between the classical sciences (*ulûm al-'aql* "sciences of the intellect"), introduced in Islam by the translation of Greek works on philosophy and science and the Islamic sciences

(*ʿulûm al-naql* "sciences of tradition"), which traditionalist Islam made, became stricter than ever before.

All studies directly related to the Qur'ân and *Hadîth* were considered to be Islamic sciences. The exact sciences and philosophy on the basis of which Islamic doctrines like God's omnipotence, the eternity of the Qur'ân and the origin of language were questioned, were referred to as classical sciences.<sup>64</sup> Grammar was and always had been an Islamic science, in the sense that it was based on Islamic tradition. But grammar incorporated rationalist elements as well.<sup>65</sup>

In al-Mubarrad's time, which was characterized by fierce resistance to rationalism, it was even more difficult for grammar to find its place within the Islamic sciences. Though in later times grammar would be acknowledged as essential to all Islamic sciences,<sup>66</sup> this was in the third/ninth century not at all self-evident. It is reported that Tha'lab had serious doubts about the usefulness of being a grammarian; he needed the assurance of the Qur'ân scholar Ibn Mudjâhid to be convinced of the importance of grammar (al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* I, 178-79; Yâqût, *Irshâd* V, 139).

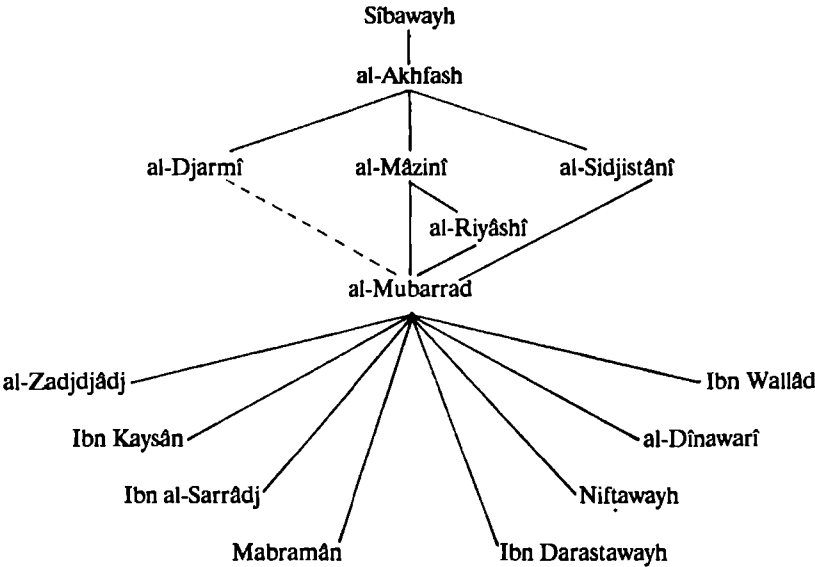
Here we end our short description of the cultural context in which al-Mubarrad lived. Let us now summarize some of our information.

Figure one schematically presents the findings of this chapter on al-Mubarrad and the transmission of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*. Al-Mubarrad held a key position in the early transmission-line of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*: his most important teacher was the famous al-Mâzinî and among his pupils there were many well-known names.

We have furthermore seen that al-Mubarrad, like many other grammarians, wrote several explanatory and interpretative comments on Sîbawayh's *Kitâb*. According to some sources, al-Mubarrad introduced the *Kitâb* to circles of grammarians in Baghdad. We have seen, too, that al-Mubarrad's *Radd* was reportedly one of only two critical commentary attacks ever written on the *Kitâb*.<sup>69</sup>

In the light of al-Mubarrad's important role in transmitting the *Kitâb* in combination with the general cultural developments in the Islamic sciences just described, we propose as a hypothesis that al-Mubarrad tried to stress the importance and status of his profession by bringing the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* to the fore in order to meet the challenge of these developments. The next chapters will determine if this possible explanation is justified or not.

*Figure one*  
Transmission line of the *Kitâb Sibawayh*



**PART II**  
**THE RECEPTION OF SĪBAWAYH'S BOOK**





# AL-MUBARRAD'S GRAMMATICAL POSITION: HIS ORIGINALITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS CRITICISM

The hypothesis that al-Mubarrad tried to emphasize the importance of his profession by bringing the *Kitāb Sibawayh* to the fore, primarily owes its origin to the biographical information from the sources we have used in the previous chapters. These sources pay very little attention to al-Mubarrad's critical attitude towards Sibawayh's *Kitāb*. It was only toward the end of the fourth/tenth century that the grammarian Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) and the biographer al-Tanūkhī (d. 442/1050) refer to this rather obscure work of al-Mubarrad – though they both doubt the originality of the *Radd* and stress that al-Mubarrad withdrew most of his remarks later in life. Neither of them mention the fact that the Egyptian grammarian Aḥmad b. Wallād (d. 332/943) wrote an extensive refutation of the *Radd*, the *Intiṣār li-Sibawayh fī mā dhakarahu al-Mubarrad*. Inasmuch as the *Radd* itself has not been preserved as an independent text, we only know its contents through this refutation by Ibn Wallād.

It is al-Mubarrad's *Radd* – known to us through Ibn Wallād's text – that forms the backbone of this chapter. Two related questions are raised and subsequently answered: (1) Was al-Mubarrad's criticism originally his and (2) to what degree did he retract his critical remarks?

In order to establish al-Mubarrad's grammatical position and to delineate his role in the development of Arabic grammar, the *Intiṣār* is an invaluable source. The second of the three main sources used for this chapter, are the marginal comments in the Derenbourg edition of the *Kitāb Sibawayh*, from which the critical notes of al-Akhfash, al-Djarmī and al-Māzinī have been selected. The third source is the *Muqṭadab*, which can be considered as al-Mubarrad's most important grammatical work.

When used together, these three sources give us a picture of al-Mubarrad's grammatical position. Collation of the critical remarks from the *Radd* with the marginal notes of the *Kitāb* makes it possible to establish al-Mubarrad's originality. Collation of the *Radd* with the *Muqṭadab* answers our second question about al-Mubarrad's development as a grammarian and subsequently permits us to discover if he actually did change his critical attitude, as tradition would have us believe.

The first paragraph of this chapter presents some preliminary remarks on al-Mubarrad's *Radd* on the basis of previous studies and statements from classical sources. The second paragraph is devoted to a description of the manuscript of Ibn Wallâd's text and its contents. The third paragraph deals with the collated material: the marginal notes in Derenbourg's *Kitâb Sîbawayh* and the *Muqtaḍab*. In the fourth paragraph the outcome of the material will be quantified. The fifth paragraph elaborates on the implications of these numbers.

*Preliminary remarks on al-Mubarrad's Radd 'alâ Kitâb Sîbawayh*

Ibn Djinnî tells us that al-Mubarrad disagreed with Sîbawayh on a number of grammatical issues which were called the *Masâ'il al-ghalaṭ*. He criticizes al-Mubarrad for not giving more than very brief argumentations. Additionally, Ibn Djinnî says that most of the remarks brought forward by al-Mubarrad are not originally his and that it is a well-known fact that he withdrew his critical remarks later in life. Ibn Djinnî heard from Abû 'Alî al-Fârisî, who spoke on the authority of Ibn al-Sarrâdj — al-Mubarrad's favourite pupil — that al-Mubarrad regretted his deed and changed his critical attitude when he had grown older and wiser (*Khaṣṣaṭ* 1,206; III,287).

According to al-Tanûkhî (*Târikh* 59), al-Mubarrad wrote a booklet in which he reportedly discussed four hundred grammatical issues on which he disagreed with Sîbawayh. He furthermore reports on the authority of al-Zadjdjâdj that al-Mubarrad withdrew most of his criticism.

Flugel (1862.94) distilled from his sources that al-Mubarrad's critical position was very precarious and unusual at the time, although he did not stand alone:

Die Stellung, die er zum Buche Sîbaweh's nimmt, ist gewissermaßen eine kritische, die für seine Zeit gewagt war, aber in welcher er einen Vorgänger an al-Achfas dem Mittleren hatte. Die Widerlegung desselben betraf gewiss nur Einzelnes und lässt nicht voraussetzen, dass er sich in vollen Widerspruch mit ihm setzte;...<sup>1</sup>

Fawwâl Bâbtî (1983.62), known for her general introduction to the history of Arabic grammar, is of the opinion that al-Mubarrad gathered al-Akhfash's marginal notes to the *Kitâb* and published these in the book which was called *al-Radd 'alâ Sîbawayh*. She refers to Ibn Djinnî's report that most of the remarks brought forward by al-Mubarrad were not originally his.

Humbert (1992.140-41, note 72) was not able to consult the manuscript of Ibn Wallâd's text in detail. She says, confirming the opinion of Ibn Djinnî, to whom she refers, that on the surface, al-Mubarrad seems to discuss

only points of detail. In her view, it is quite probable that al-Mubarrad's *Radd* was rather a reaction against "l'archaïsme du vocabulaire technique du *Kitâb* et à l'obscurité de son système d'exposition" and was not intended as a fundamental refutation of Sībawayh's book.

'Uḏayma, the editor of al-Mubarrad's extensive grammatical work, the *Muqtaḏab*, is convinced that Ibn Djinnī never set eyes upon the *Radd* (*Introduction to the Muqtaḏab* 98). Up until now, 'Uḏayma produced the most elaborate study of the contents of the *Radd*. He has made use of the manuscript of Ibn Wallād's *Intiṣār* (*ms. Ibn Wallād*) and includes a number of citations from it in his annotation of the *Muqtaḏab*.<sup>2</sup> 'Uḏayma has fixed the number of grammatical issues brought forward by al-Mubarrad in the *Radd* at 133. Of these, he says, one deals with a theory of al-Akhfash and another has been dealt with twice; this then brings the number of critical remarks directed against Sībawayh to 131 (*Introduction* 96).

'Uḏayma gives a short survey of the development of al-Mubarrad's criticism on the basis of two sets of seven grammatical issues. One set concerns *masâ'il* from the *Radd*, to which al-Mubarrad also refers in the *Muqtaḏab*, albeit with a different point of view; the other set consists of *masâ'il* which do not occur in the *Muqtaḏab*.<sup>3</sup> For the remaining *masâ'il* he refers to his annotations (*Introduction* 98-100).

On the basis of his information gathered from the *ms. Ibn Wallād* and the *Muqtaḏab*, 'Uḏayma concludes that Ibn Djinnī has to be corrected on two points. First, al-Mubarrad refers on some forty points to the theories of al-Akhfash, al-Mâzinī or al-Djarmī, but, in 'Uḏayma's view, a greater number of his remarks are originally his own. Secondly, 'Uḏayma states that in at least thirty-four cases, al-Mubarrad did not change his mind in the *Muqtaḏab*.<sup>4</sup>

It is most unfortunate that 'Uḏayma's information on the *Radd* is rather inaccessible. His extensive indices appear to be inaccurate due perhaps to the fact that there are several editions of the *Muqtaḏab* in circulation which do not correspond with each other.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, 'Uḏayma's index was very helpful in tracking down a number of *masâ'il* in the *Muqtaḏab*.

#### *An inventory of the ms. Ibn Wallād*

The manuscript of Ibn Wallād's *Kitâb al-Intiṣār* is part of the collection of the *Dâr al-Kutub* in Cairo. It is catalogued as no. 705 *naḥw*, Taymûr. It is dated 1345/1926-27 and copied from a version written in Kufan script. The manuscript consists of 333 half-pages; the handwriting is clearly legible.<sup>6</sup>

Ibn Wallād starts off his refutation of al-Mubarrad with a brief introduction which runs as follows.

Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Wallād, the grammarian, said: This book presents the *masā’il* on which Abū al-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd [al-Mubarrad] claimed that Sībawayh was in error. In this book we also elucidate the issues involved and dispel the uncertainties which had arisen. Perhaps some of our readers would be taken back by our refutation of Abū al-‘Abbās; but our rejoinder is surely not as horrid as that criticism which he and other men beneath the standing of Sībawayh had come up with. Despite the objection [to al-Mubarrad] which prompted our rebuttal, we acknowledge that we have profited from the attention his work directed to issues of potential misunderstanding. Genuine rewards, however, lie in the uncovering of truth, a task whose fulfillment is our first and foremost duty; and may God guide our efforts to success (*ms. Ibn Wallād* 2/1-8).

The *Intiṣār* is a traditionally styled commentary. This means that the author presents the literal text about which comments are made; a quotation from the text under discussion is followed by the author’s commentary which in turn is followed by the next quotation of the text and so forth. In the *Intiṣār*, every *mas’ala* commences with a reference to the *Kitāb Sībawayh*, with the words *wa-min dhālika qawluhu fī bāb*, followed by the title of the chapter under discussion; the relevant passage begins with *wa-qāla* (*Sībawayh*). Then al-Mubarrad’s remarks are presented, introduced by *qāla Muḥammad*. Ibn Wallād’s refutation starts off with the words *qāla Aḥmad*. The title of the chapter is underlined, the words *mas’ala* and *qāla* are probably in red, since they are less legible in my copy of the film.

Some of the *masā’il* begin with: (*qāla Muḥammad*) *wa-mimmā aṣabnā-hu fī al-djuz’ al-khāmis min dhālika* ... “(Muhammad said) as for what struck us in the fifth part ...”.<sup>7</sup> This probably indicates the division of the *Kitāb* as it was made by copyists for the sake of efficiency, and not a logical and systematic division made by al-Mubarrad himself.<sup>8</sup>

I have made an inventory of the manuscript of the *Intiṣār*. In so doing, I have numbered the *masā’il* and have given a short description of the grammatical issues which are dealt with. These have then been divided in two categories: morpho-phonology and syntax.<sup>9</sup> Subsequently, I studied the relevant passages from the *Kitāb Sībawayh* and determined which position al-Mubarrad assumes in the *Radd* vis-à-vis these grammatical issues. Attention was also given to the opinions of al-Mubarrad’s predecessors, which he himself mentions. This information, presented in Appendices One and Two, is the core of our research into both the originality of al-Mubarrad’s commentary and the development of his grammatical position.<sup>10</sup>

I have counted 134 *masā’il*, contrary to ‘Udayma who fixed the number at 133, as we have seen above. He probably did not consider my no. 8 to

be a separate *mas'ala*. In this *mas'ala*, al-Mubarrad opposes al-Akhfash on a subject with which Sībawayh deals in the same chapter including no. 7. There is no quotation from the text of the *Kitāb Sībawayh*, so al-Mubarrad's remark probably concerns a marginal note.<sup>11</sup> The omitted point in 'Udayma's listing accounts for the fact that he speaks of only one case in which al-Mubarrad's criticism concerns a theory of al-Akhfash, instead of two (the other one being *ms. Ibn Wallād* no. 22).<sup>12</sup>

The references to the *Kitāb Sībawayh* follow the arrangement of the text as we know it from the Derenbourg and *Bāḷāq* editions.<sup>13</sup> The relevant passages of the *Kitāb* are usually literal quotations. These quotations come from al-Mubarrad; this is apparent from the fact that some of the *masā'il* begin with *qāla Muḥammad* followed by a quotation from the *Kitāb*, as I have already mentioned. That it is al-Mubarrad who quotes from Sībawayh is also evident from *ms. Ibn Wallād* 317/4-13, where his account of the text of the *Kitāb* is not accurate. As Ibn Wallād observes:

He should have noticed that these are not Sībawayh's words. I have looked into several manuscripts and I have found out that what Sībawayh says is correct and right (*ms. Ibn Wallād* no. 124; see also 'Udayma, *Introduction* 97).

The text of the *Kitāb*, which is the correct one according to Ibn Wallād, corresponds to the text as we know it from the Derenbourg edition.<sup>14</sup>

Al-Mubarrad apparently scrutinized the *Kitāb* very thoroughly from beginning to end and his remarks cover the whole text. Eighty-three remarks are related to volume I of the Derenbourg edition and are all syntactic *masā'il*; the remaining fifty-one concern volume II and are mostly morpho-phonological issues.

Most of the time, al-Mubarrad just comments on Sībawayh's text, without an explicit value judgement, but sometimes he explicitly brands Sībawayh's theory as wrong (*khata'*; nos. 99, 101 and 102) or even as a gross mistake (*khata' fāḥish*; nos. 63, 91, 92 and 108).

Although al-Mubarrad disagrees with Sībawayh in most of the *masā'il*, he sometimes just interprets Sībawayh's words rather than criticizing them (for example, *ms. Ibn Wallād* nos. 26 and 41) or he asserts that Sībawayh fails to explain his point of view convincingly (no. 27). In some cases al-Mubarrad only criticizes one of Sībawayh's illustrations from poetry for a certain theory, but not the theory itself (nos. 9 or 85). Or his criticism is directed at an alternative explanation of Yūnus (nos. 29 and 37). In two cases he does not comment on something Sībawayh says, but on a theory of al-Akhfash (nos. 8 and 22).

Al-Mubarrad's remarks concern all kinds of aspects discussed in the *Kitāb Sībawayh*. He does not show a preference for one kind of aspect nor does he confine himself to a particular theme. It is striking that he pays re-

lately little attention to Qur'ân-related grammatical issues. The fact that he seems to be more interested in poetry and poetical references, bespeaks his literary background (See Chapter Three).

*Collation material: the marginal notes of the Derenbourg edition and the Muqtaḍab*

The Derenbourg edition of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* is mainly based on a manuscript from the *Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (arabe 3987). It is not dated, not signed and it is unknown where it originally came from. According to Humbert (1990.189), the manuscript itself is recent; it was probably written not earlier than the eighteenth century. She has established, however, that the contents of the text is much older, parts of it dating back to the twelfth century. It is based on a copy which was read before Abû 'Alî al-Fârisî (d. 377/987) and it contains notes from, among others, al-Akhfash, al-Djarmî, al-Mâzinî and al-Mubarrad. The copy once belonged to al-Zamakhsharî (538/1144), who provided it also with his annotations.

Not all the notes are attributed to someone and many of them have been, in due course, incorporated in the body of the text. According to Derenbourg, some of them are very hard to identify as notes or have become so much a part of the main text that they are difficult to be distinguished from it. Derenbourg has tried to separate as much of the notes as possible by putting them in footnotes. With his adaptation of the manuscript, Derenbourg tried to reconstruct the original text of Sîbawayh's *Kitâb* (Derenbourg, *Introduction* 2-3; Humbert 1990.182-83). It is only from the very recent studies of Humbert,<sup>15</sup> that we know he was far less successful in his achievements than is generally assumed.

I have selected from Derenbourg's annotation the footnotes whose authors were explicitly named and collated the list of comments thus received with the grammatical issues from the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*. The result of this operation is a list of twenty-one overlapping items, presented in Appendix Three. Most of the marginal notes are from al-Akhfash and al-Mâzinî; some express al-Djarmî's opinion and two come from al-Mubarrad himself (corresponding to no. 21 of the inventory *ms. Ibn Wallâd*).

The list of overlapping items gives us more insight in the originality of al-Mubarrad's ideas. In at least eight cases, al-Mubarrad's view corresponds with that of al-Djarmî, al-Mâzinî or al-Akhfash, but he does not refer to them in the *Radd*. We shall come back to this later.

The development of al-Mubarrad's grammatical position comes to light when we compare his opinion on the *masâ'il* discussed in the *Radd* with his ideas brought forward in the *Muqtaḍab*.<sup>16</sup> This extensive Arabic gram-

mar, al-Mubarrad's most important grammatical work, clearly shows the general influence of Sībawayh and his theories as formulated in the *Kitāb*.

We do not have any explicit indication about the chronology of al-Mubarrad's works, except that he wrote the *Kāmil* towards the end of his life (Danecki 1982:64). Al-Mubarrad refers to other, probably grammatical, studies from his own hand in the *Radd*, but without mentioning any titles.<sup>17</sup>

However, there is some indirect evidence that the *Muqtaḍab* is from a later date than the *Radd*. Although Ibn Wallād apparently did not know the *Muqtaḍab*, he was aware of a development in the ideas of al-Mubarrad: he refers twice to al-Mubarrad having withdrawn his critical remarks.<sup>18</sup> First, when he discusses al-Mubarrad's opinion on the accusative of adverbs, he says: "He withdrew this statement in the commentary book which he wrote on what Sībawayh had neglected, saying..." (*ms. Ibn Wallād* 105/2; no. 40). Secondly, concerning al-Mubarrad's theory on exceptive sentences, Ibn Wallād refers to a manuscript of his father, saying: "He said 'I have found this crossed out in his book', and he meant Muḥammad [b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad]'s book; so he had already changed his mind on this issue" (*ms. Ibn Wallād* 182/8; no. 70). Subsequently, when we take a look at the passages of the *Muqtaḍab* where al-Mubarrad deals with the subject of these *masā'il*, it appears that he indeed did change his opinion.

Additionally, the *Muqtaḍab* is an elaborate and comprehensive work, whereas the *Radd*, as we know it from Ibn Wallād's *Intisār*, is a far less detailed and well-reasoned study. If we take Ibn al-Sarrādj's above-mentioned statement into account — that al-Mubarrad was still very young when he wrote the *Radd* and that he changed his mind later in life — we may safely say that a collation of the *Radd* with the information from the *Muqtaḍab* provides us with an accurate picture of the development of al-Mubarrad's grammatical position.<sup>19</sup>

### *Provisional results in numbers*

To establish al-Mubarrad's originality and the development of his criticism, not all 134 *masā'il* are equally useful. In the case of *ms. Ibn Wallād* no. 122, it is unclear whether al-Mubarrad is reacting against al-Akhfash or against Sībawayh. The issue of *dakhala* plus accusative is dealt with twice, in the *ms. Ibn Wallād* nos. 3 and 19, and in the case of nos. 58 and 79 al-Mubarrad's position is not discernible either. This means that we have 130 grammatical issues on which to base our investigation into the originality of al-Mubarrad's ideas. Concerning the development of al-Mubarrad's critical attitude, we can only rely on those *masā'il* which are also

discussed in the *Muqtaḍab*. As far as I have been able to establish, this is the case for 70 of the 130 grammatical issues.

The following is a presentation of the results based on the information obtained from the inventory of the *ms. Ibn Wallād* which is presented in the Appendices. The numbers and percentages merely provide a descriptive classification.

Let us commence with the topic of the originality of al-Mubarrad's ideas. In 45 of the 130 *masā'il*, al-Mubarrad mentions the opinion of other grammarians. Four of these cases concern points on which he does not disagree with Sībawayh.<sup>20</sup> The grammarians in question are al-Māzinī (23 times), al-Akhfash (14 times), al-Djarmī (7 times), al-Aṣma'ī (4 times) al-Ziyādī (once), Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (once) and al-Farrā' (once).<sup>21</sup>

Al-Mubarrad takes sides with al-Māzinī in all but one of the 23 citations or references. When discussing the interpretation of a verse from al-'Adjdjādī, al-Mubarrad calls Sībawayh's remarks on the subject a gross mistake, but does not subscribe to the alternative interpretation of al-Māzinī either.<sup>22</sup> Likewise, al-Mubarrad refers to al-Djarmī's opinion in support of his own in all but one instance. In quoting some examples from poetry to illustrate the use of adverbs (*zurūf*), al-Djarmī appears to agree with Sībawayh, whereas al-Mubarrad opposes his view.<sup>23</sup> Of the 14 times that al-Mubarrad refers to al-Akhfash, he quotes him 8 times in favour of his opinion, but as far as the remaining 6 points are concerned, he disagrees with him.<sup>24</sup> One of the 4 times al-Aṣma'ī is cited, his opinion does not correspond with al-Mubarrad's thinking. The remaining 3 points as well as the quotations from the other grammarians are all in support of al-Mubarrad's view.<sup>25</sup>

Regarding our investigation into the originality of al-Mubarrad's criticism and the degree to which he relies on the ideas of his predecessors, we shall study those cases in which one or more of al-Mubarrad's predecessors and teachers expressed the same opinion.<sup>26</sup> According to 'Uḍayma (*Introduction* 98), al-Mubarrad explicitly refers to other grammarians, notably his teachers, when a remark is not originally his. From our research it appeared that although al-Mubarrad mentions the names of other grammarians in 45 of the 130 *masā'il*, it is only in 37 of these cases (that is 28.5%), that he refers to a theory which was already known from his predecessors to support his critical remarks.<sup>27</sup> So, to all appearances, al-Mubarrad's ideas are even more original than has generally been assumed.

However, we have additional information which 'Uḍayma apparently did not take into consideration, but which supports the view that al-Mubarrad was not as honest as 'Uḍayma would have us believe. According to Ibn Wallād, al-Mubarrad once takes sides with al-Māzinī without refer-



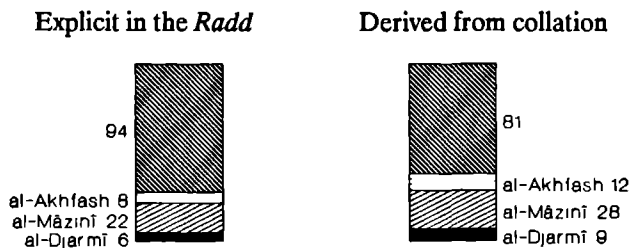
ring to his teacher. Al-Sîrâfi<sup>28</sup> also mentions a few occasions in which al-Mubarrad's opinion agrees with that of al-Mâzinî. But the most important information is derived from our collation of the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* with the marginal notes from the Derenbourg edition. The list of overlapping items (Appendix Three) shows that al-Mubarrad's point of view is shared several times by other grammarians without him saying so.

Al-Mubarrad's "dishonesty" appears from the following eleven *masâ'il*:

- 1 al-Mâzinî according to Ibn Wallâd (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* 3/9)
- 3/19 al-Djarmî according to margin *KS* (I,69/4)
- 14 al-Mâzinî according to al-Sîrâfi (*KS Bûlâq* I,63)
- 69 al-Mâzinî according to margin *KS* (I,319)
- 70 al-Mâzinî according to margin *KS* (I,324)
- 80 al-Mâzinî according to margin *KS* (I,405)
- 91 al-Mâzinî according to al-Sîrâfi (*KS Bûlâq* II,62)
- 91/92 al-Akhfash according to margin *KS* (II,57)
- 95 al-Akhfash and al-Djarmî according to margin *KS*  
(II,82-83; note that al-Mubarrad does mention  
al-Akhfash, but disagrees with him);
- 96 al-Akhfash and al-Djarmî according to margin *KS* (II,86)
- 133 al-Akhfash according to margin *KS* (II,463).<sup>29</sup>

This means that, all in all, al-Mubarrad does not stand alone in holding views which differ from Sîbawayh's ideas in at least 48 of the 130 *masâ'il* (36.9%) brought forward in the *Radd*.<sup>30</sup> Of these disagreements, 29 (60.4%) concern syntactic problems and 19 (39.6%) belong to the category of morpho-phonological issues.

*Figure two*  
Al-Mubarrad and his predecessors



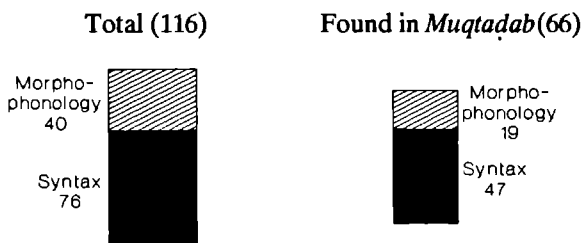
From the number of times al-Mubarrad relies on the opinion of his predecessors, one can clearly see that al-Mâzinî is his most important teacher.

Al-Mubarrad refers to him and his theories, implicitly and explicitly, a total of 29 times, of which only once their views do not coincide. Al-Djarmī's influence on al-Mubarrad appears from the fact that 9 out of 10 times their ideas are in agreement with each other. Only al-Akhfash is subject to a more critical approach; al-Mubarrad disagrees with him 7 of the 19 times that his views are referred to.<sup>31</sup>

We now move on to al-Mubarrad's retraction of criticism. As I have mentioned above, I was able to trace 70 grammatical issues of the *Radd* in the *Muqtaḍab*. These form the basis for our investigation into the development of al-Mubarrad's critical attitude towards Sībawayh. In 14 of the 130 *masâ'il*, however, al-Mubarrad does not express any criticism of Sībawayh; his remarks are an addition to Sībawayh's statements or they are directed against the theory of another grammarian. Of these non-critical *masâ'il*, 4 are part of the issues I have traced in the *Muqtaḍab* and since we are only interested in al-Mubarrad's criticism of Sībawayh, we have 66 *masâ'il* to take into consideration.<sup>32</sup>

The total of 116 points of criticism of Sībawayh is distributed over the grammatical categories as follows: 76 *masâ'il*, which amounts to 65.5%, concern syntactic problems, and 40 *masâ'il*, which means 34.5%, deal with morpho-phonological problems. As far as the 66 critical remarks which have been tracked down in the *Muqtaḍab* are concerned, they represent the grammatical categories as follows: 47 *masâ'il* (71.2%) deal with syntax, the remaining 19 *masâ'il* (28.8%) concern morpho-phonological problems.

*Figure three*  
Proportional distribution of the *masâ'il*

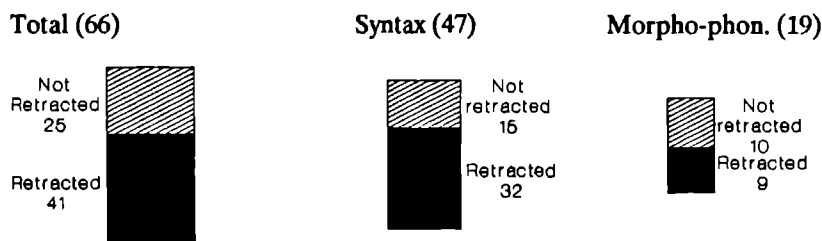


The proportional distribution of our 66 *masâ'il* over the grammatical categories is almost equal to the categorical division of the complete set of 116 *masâ'il*. Therefore, we may conclude that the 66 *masâ'il* which found their way into the *Muqtaḍab* do not belong to a specific grammatical category.

In establishing whether al-Mubarrad changed his critical attitude, those cases in which he expresses in the *Muqtaḍab* exactly the opposite of his opinion brought forward in the *Radd*, do not give us any difficulties. A clear moderation of al-Mubarrad's initial opinion has also been interpreted as a retraction of criticism, as *ms. Ibn Wallād* no. 101 illustrates: in the *Radd*, Sībawayh's opinion is called a *khata'*, whereas in the *Muqtaḍab* al-Mubarrad considers what Sībawayh says to be allowed, although he prefers his own theory. Similarly, when the problem, or part of the problem of a *mas'ala*, is discussed in the *Muqtaḍab*, and no trace of the critical remarks from the *Radd* has been found, al-Mubarrad's criticism of Sībawayh is considered to have been retracted.

Bearing this in mind, the following results have been obtained. In 25 of the 66 grammatical issues, which amounts to 37.9%, al-Mubarrad still expresses criticism of Sībawayh in the *Muqtaḍab*. But on 41 *masâ'il*, which means 62.1%, he changed his mind and retracted his critical remarks. Of the 47 syntactic problems, al-Mubarrad did not change his mind on 15 of his remarks (31.9%), but he withdrew the remaining 32 (68.1%). As far as the morpho-phonological problems are concerned, al-Mubarrad did not change his mind on 10 out of 19 remarks (52.6%) whereas he retracted the remaining 9 (47.4%).

*Figure four*  
Al-Mubarrad's retraction of criticism



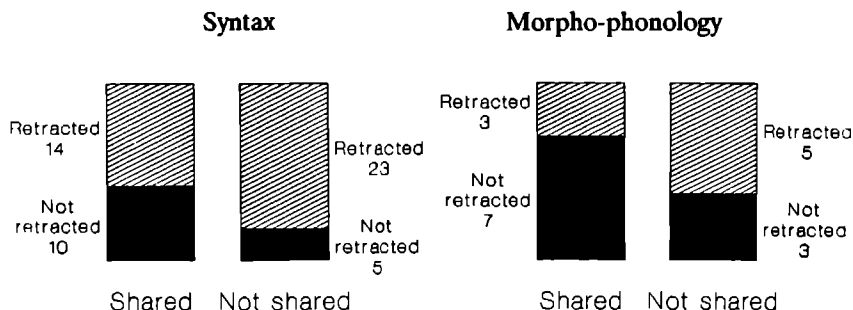
Although no extraordinary results emerge from these numbers, it appears that al-Mubarrad retracted more of his remarks on syntax (68.1%) than he did with those on morpho-phonology (47.4%).

At the outset of this paragraph, we established that al-Mubarrad's ideas coincide with those of one or more of his predecessors in the case of 48 *masâ'il*. Of 14 of these we do not have information as to whether al-Mubarrad retracted his critical remarks or not. Of the remaining 34, al-Mubarrad did not change his mind on half of these points, but he did retract the other half.

Of the 17 remarks on which he did not change his mind, 10 (58.8%) concern syntactic problems, the remaining 7 (41.2%) belong to the category of morpho-phonology. Of the critical remarks al-Mubarrad retracted, 14 (82.4%) belong to the category of syntax and only 3 (17.6%) are morpho-phonological problems.

Or, in other words and other numbers: of the 24 *masâ'il* regarding syntax, on which al-Mubarrad agreed with other grammarians, he persisted in his critical attitude concerning 10 *masâ'il* (41.7%); the remaining 14 (58.3%) he retracted. In the case of 7 of the 10 morpho-phonological *masâ'il*, al-Mubarrad maintained his criticism (70%) and he retracted only 3 of them (30%).

*Figure five*  
Al-Mubarrad's retraction of critical  
remarks shared by other grammarians



Again no remarkable facts emerge from these numbers, except that al-Mubarrad indeed withdrew more of his remarks on syntax than on morpho-phonology, even within the set of opinions which were shared by other grammarians.

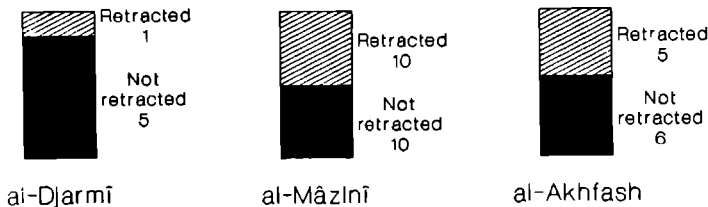
However, the support of other grammarians did influence al-Mubarrad's decision to maintain some of his criticism. We have seen that, of the complete set of 66 *masâ'il* on which this investigation is based, al-Mubarrad shared the criticism of previous grammarians on about half of the issues (34); the other half (32) consisted of his own original criticism. Of the first group of 34 issues, 17 issues were retracted while of the second category — that is the points of al-Mubarrad's own original criticism — 24 out of 32 were retracted; hence we observe a retraction of 75% versus the 50% of the other category.

If we take a look at what happened with al-Mubarrad's individual relationship with the other grammarians — relying on those cases about which

we have the information as to how al-Mubarrad's position developed — we see that he retracted one of the 6 agreements with al-Djarmî, which means that he changed his views on only 16.6%. Of the 20 *masâ'il* on which his views originally coincided with those of al-Mâzinî, he maintains his position in 10 cases (50%) and changes his views on the remaining 10. As far as al-Akhfash is concerned, from the original agreements 5 (45.5%) are retracted and 6 (54.5%) kept, but we have to take notice of the fact that al-Mubarrad disagrees with him more than a third of the times his views are referred to.

*Figure six*

Al-Mubarrad's position vis-à-vis the other grammarians



Finally, the data obtained from the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* and its collation with the marginal notes of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* and with the *Muqtaḍab* when taken as a whole, provide us with some additional information. Al-Mubarrad mentions Sîbawayh and his own position towards him explicitly on 59 occasions in the *Muqtaḍab*.<sup>33</sup> 24 of these references fall within the framework of a *mas'ala* from the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*, the remaining 35 give us information outside this scope. Al-Mubarrad explicitly agrees with Sîbawayh in the case of 27 of these 35 references; the remaining 8 concern disagreements. This means that al-Mubarrad did change his critical attitude considerably, but nevertheless he did not subscribe uncritically to all of Sîbawayh's ideas. It also means that the *Radd* did not contain all points of disagreement between al-Mubarrad and Sîbawayh.

#### *A discussion of the findings*

The numbers presented in the previous paragraph provide an answer to our questions about the originality and the development of al-Mubarrad's criticism of Sîbawayh. On the basis of the information obtained until now,

we are able to describe al-Mubarrad's grammatical position in more detail. Moreover, we are now in a position to refute or correct the statements on al-Mubarrad brought forward in the Arab tradition and in previous studies on the *Radd*.

Fawwâl Bâbtî's assumption (1983.62) that al-Mubarrad's remarks were a mere collection of the criticisms of Sîbawayh which al-Akhfash had already formulated, appears to have no ground whatsoever. As we have seen above, al-Mubarrad had serious reservations with regard to al-Akhfash's comments on the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* and did not subscribe to his views without a critical mind. On the contrary, nearly a third of al-Mubarrad's references to al-Akhfash in the *Radd* entail disagreement with him. This trend continues in the *Muqtaḍab*; here al-Mubarrad retracts five of the original agreements, which amounts to more than 40%, and, additionally, he expresses explicit disagreement with him on several occasions.<sup>34</sup>

As we have seen above, 'Uḍayma already refuted the traditional reports on the *Radd*. Al-Mubarrad's critical attitude towards al-Akhfash and the fact that apparently he did not have the support of other grammarians in approximately two-thirds of the *masâ'il*, confirms 'Uḍayma's statement that more of the ideas of al-Mubarrad were originally his than Ibn Djinnî and al-Tanûkhî would have us believe. However, 'Uḍayma was not altogether right in saying that al-Mubarrad always mentioned his teachers when he discussed a theory which was already known. In at least eleven instances al-Mubarrad failed to refer to the opinion of one or more of his predecessors.

As far as the development of al-Mubarrad's grammatical position is concerned, I have not been able to gather enough information to confirm 'Uḍayma's statement that he did not change his mind on at least thirty-four cases. However, we have seen that, according to my calculations, al-Mubarrad indeed retracted many of his critical remarks later in life. It is important to take special notice of the fact that he persisted in his critical attitude in some 40% of his comments because this means that, although he was inclined more and more to Sîbawayh's approach as time went by and became milder in his judgements, he nevertheless did not subscribe wholeheartedly and uncritically to all of his ideas.

Until now, we have hardly paid any attention to the content of al-Mubarrad's *masâ'il*. Is his criticism of Sîbawayh substantial, or does it merely concern trivialities, as Humbert (1992.140-41) supposes? How does he give body to his cases and is his argumentation convincing? In what way was he influenced by his predecessors? And what did he actually do to correct or change his views?

A careful examination of all of the *masâ'il* together with the different opinions brought forward in the discussions as well as the development of al-Mubarrad's theories would, in fact, be necessary in order to answer these questions adequately. This whole operation is, however, far beyond the scope of this study and I have therefore selected five *masâ'il* which I have analysed in detail. The aim of this analysis was to gain better insight into the nature of the disagreements and the way in which they are dealt with by al-Mubarrad and others.

In order to obtain as much information as possible on the originality and the development of al-Mubarrad's position, I have made my selection from the list of overlapping items. In choosing the *masâ'il*, I have paid attention not only to the question whether al-Mubarrad's opinion was supported by other grammarians explicitly or implicitly, but also to the question whether he retracted his criticism or maintained his original opinion. The selection, therefore, has to be seen as an illustration of al-Mubarrad's grammatical position; it is not intended to be a representation of all *masâ'il* brought forward in the *Radd*.

The following five grammatical issues are analysed:

*ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 10 and 11:

The change of case-ending in expressions like *zaydun ḍarab-tuhu wa-'amran kallamtuhu*.

⇒ Marginal notes to *KS* from al-Akhfash; al-Akhfash and al-Ziyâdî mentioned in *Radd*; al-Mubarrad retracts criticism of Sîbawayh.

*ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 21:

Separation between the two parts of a genitive construction as an example of *sa'at al-kalâm* "extension of speech" or poetic license.

⇒ Marginal notes to *KS* from al-Akhfash and al-Mubarrad; neither in *Radd* nor in *Muqtaḍab*, al-Mubarrad expresses criticism of Sîbawayh.

*ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 22:

The function of the personal pronoun *ka* in the expression *al-dâribûka*: genitive or accusative?

⇒ Marginal notes to *KS* from al-Akhfash; al-Mubarrad criticizes al-Akhfash in *Radd*. In both *Radd* and *Muqtaḍab*, al-Mubarrad agrees with Sîbawayh.

*ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 67 and 68:

The government of the negative *lâ* preceded by the interrogative *a-* having the meaning of a wish, like in *a-lâ mâ'a bârida*.

⇒ Marginal notes to *KS* from al-Mâzinî; al-Mâzinî mentioned in *Radd*; al-Mubarrad retracts criticism of Sîbawayh.

*ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 69:

The exceptive particle *illâ* in the meaning of *wa-lâkinna* followed by the accusative.

⇒ Marginal notes from al-Mâzinî; no other grammarians mentioned in *Radd*; al-Mubarrad retracts criticism of Sîbawayh.

The analyses of these five grammatical issues are presented in the next chapter.



ILLUSTRATION OF AL-MUBARRAD'S  
GRAMMATICAL POSITION:  
AN ANALYSIS OF FIVE GRAMMATICAL ISSUES

Each of the five issues to be analyzed in this chapter commences with an explanation of Sībawayh's theory on the subject under discussion. Following this, first the marginal notes to the *Kitāb* are analysed and then al-Mubarrad's remarks from the *Radd*. Subsequently, we turn to the *Muqtaḍab*, to establish whether al-Mubarrad changed his opinion later on.

Inasmuch as the present study centres on the reception of the *Kitāb Sībawayh* and the role al-Mubarrad played in the process, the following will be presented in addition to the above. The views of Sībawayh's contemporary and assumed rival al-Farrā', taken from his *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, and those of al-Mubarrad's "Kufan counterpart" Tha'lab, as recorded in his *Madjālis*, are to be described in as far as I was able to identify relevant issues.

To complete the picture, it is necessary to know how later grammarians dealt with the grammatical ideas of their predecessors. Therefore, I have added to the analyses of the five *masā'il* a discussion of the depiction of the opinion of Sībawayh and the early grammarians up to the time of al-Mubarrad as reflected in later grammatical works. Al-Mubarrad's direct lineage is represented by al-Zadjdjâdj (d. 311/923; *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*) and through him by al-Zadjdjâdjî (d. 337/949 or 340/951; *al-Idāḥ fī 'ilal al-naḥw*, *al-Djumal fī al-naḥw* and *Madjālis al-'ulamā'*), the Egyptian grammarian al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950); *I'rāb al-Qur'ān*,<sup>1</sup> al-Fārisī (d. 377/987; *al-Masā'il al-baṣriyyāt*), Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002; *al-Luma' fī al-naḥw* and *Sirr ṣinā'at al-i'rāb*) and al-Sîrāfi (d. 368/979; marginal notes from the *Bû-lâq* edition of the *Kitāb Sībawayh*).

The Spanish grammarian Abû Naṣr Hârûn b. Mûsâ (d. 401/1010), who wrote a commentary on Sībawayh's book, *Sharḥ ḥuyûn Kitāb Sībawayh*, probably knew the *Kitāb* and the *Muqtaḍab* through his teacher al-Rabâhî who, in his turn, was a pupil of al-Naḥḥās. From the later Spanish grammatical tradition, the small *Radd 'alâ al-nuḥât* by Ibn Maḍâ (d. 602/1205) provides us with some very useful information on the *masā'il* under discussion. Abû Hayyân's (d. 745/1344) extensive commentary on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mâlik, the *Manḥadj al-sâlik*, often presents a survey of the various

opinions which the earlier grammarians held on certain issues. An Oriental example of such a compilation is the commentary on the *Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, of Ibn Ya'īsh (d. 642/1245), whose information is as useful as the *Manhaj*, though in some ways less surprising.

The *Inṣāf fī mas'āl al-khilāf* of Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) has also been studied to see if and how the discussions of our five issues are reflected in terms of disagreements between an alleged Basran and a Kufan school of grammar. Finally, al-Baghdādī's (d. 1093/1682) very comprehensive work of belles-lettres, the *Khizānat al-adab*, is said to contain more than twenty-six quotations from the *Radd* (Sezgin 1984.80). Reason enough to include it in the list of works to be consulted.

Prior to all this, a general introduction of the problem at hand is given, then the *mas'ala* is described in accordance with the above. A general conclusion ends each discussion.

### 1. The conjunction of two sentences with different grammatical structures

In Arabic, simple, coordinative nouns and clauses are connected by the conjunctive particle *wa-* "and". *Wa-* most commonly connects nouns which have the same function within the sentence, as in *laqītu 'amran wa-zaydan* "I met 'Amr and Zayd". Both nouns are direct objects of the verb, which gives them the accusative case-ending. In the same way, *wa-* connects sentences which have the same structure. In *laqītu 'amran wa-kallamtū zaydan* "I met 'Amr and I talked to Zayd", both sentences are verbal sentences, whereas in *'amrun laqītuhu wa-zaydun kallamtuhu* "'Amr, I met him and Zayd, I talked to him", *wa-* is used to connect two nominal sentences.

However, in the sentence *'amrun laqītuhu wa-zaydan kallamtuhu* "'Amr, I met him and I talked to Zayd", we observe the conjunction of a nominal sentence with a verbal one. To identify this conjunctive sentence as correct Arabic, one needs to bring forward an argument to account for the change from nominal sentence to verbal one.

Sībawayh acknowledges the fact that when two sentences are connected they should have the same structure, but he also accepts the above-mentioned connection of a nominal and a verbal sentence as correct Arabic. His argumentation is as follows. *Laqītuhu*, which is the predicate of the first clause, is in itself a verbal sentence. It consists of the verb

*laqîtu* and the personal pronoun *-hu* which is its direct object. As such, *-hu* has the status of the accusative. The accusative of the noun *zayd*, being the direct object of the verb in the second sentence, corresponds with the accusative status of the personal pronoun *-hu* occurring in the first sentence. Though several other arguments for and against this category of conjunctive sentences are presented, the essence of al-Mubarrad's disagreement with Sîbawayh lies in the reasoning just described. Al-Mubarrad is of the opinion that *laqîtu* as the predicate of the nominal sentence takes the position of a nominative. The nominative position of *laqîtu-hu* in the first sentence cannot, in his view, correspond with the accusative position of *zayd* in the second sentence.

In *masâ'il* 10 and 11, al-Mubarrad states that Sîbawayh contradicts his own general theory on several aspects of the use of nominal and verbal sentences.<sup>2</sup> Al-Mubarrad's first remark concerns expressions like *zaydun darabtuhu wa-'amrun kallamtuhu* "Zayd, I hit him and 'Amr, I talked to him". The second is about the correct answer to *man ra'ayta* or *man ra'aytahu* "whom did you see?". The third is about the expression *a-anta zaydun darabtahu* "is it you who hit Zayd?". Let us first take a look at Sîbawayh's general theory before moving on to al-Mubarrad's criticism.

The conjunction (*'atf*) of sentences like *'amrun laqîtu* *wa-zaydun kallamtuhu* "'Amr, I met him and Zayd, I talked to him" is discussed in the context of the difference between nominal and verbal sentences. This construction is a conjunction of nominal sentences. In both sentences the verb occurs as the predicate of the noun and is the part that makes the sentence complete (*mabniyy 'alâ al-ism*).<sup>3</sup> The noun *zayd* of the second sentence corresponds with the noun *'amr* of the first sentence and they both have the nominative ending. This is a "normal" conjunction: both sentences are nominal sentences; the topic of the first sentence has the nominative because of its commencement position (*bi-al-ibtidâ'*) and the second sentence is constructed in exactly the same way (*kâna bi-manzilatihi idhâ banayta 'alayhi al-fi'l muftada'an yadjûzu fihi mâ yadjûzu fihi*; KS I,36/13).

In *'amrun laqîtu* *wa-zaydan kallamtuhu*, however, we observe a nominal sentence connected with a verbal one. The first sentence is a nominal sentence consisting of the topic (*muftada'*) *'amr*, having the nominative *bi-al-ibtidâ'* and the verbal sentence *laqîtu* as its predicate. The personal pronoun *-hu* is the direct object of the verb *laqîtu*; it has the position of an accusative. The noun *zayd* of the second sentence corresponds with the accusative position of the personal pronoun *-hu* of the first sentence. It is

the direct object (*maf'ûl*) of the verb *kallamtu* and as such makes the sentence complete (KS I,36/10-15).<sup>4</sup> *Zayd* as the first word of the second sentence is put in the accusative by a deleted paraphrastic verb (*hâdhâ tafsîruhu*).<sup>5</sup>

However, when the first sentence is verbal, it is the proper way to make the second sentence a verbal one as well, as in *ḍarabtu zaydan wa-'amran kallamtuhu* (KS I,37/1-3; 6-8). Here, Sībawayh brings in the element of sentence-pattern which he illustrates by the example of the correct answer to *man ra'ayta* or *man ra'aytahu*. His theory then runs as follows:

The accusative is preferred when someone asks *man ra'ayta* or *ayyuhum ra'ayta* “which one (of them) did you see? You give him the answer *zaydan ra'aytuhu*, giving [question and answer] the status of *kallamtu 'amran wa-zaydan laqituhu*. Don't you see that when someone says *man ra'ayta* and you answer *zaydan* according to the pattern of his expression (*'alâ kalâmihi*), [question and answer together] obtain the status of the expression *ra'aytu zaydan wa-'amran* (KS I,37/14-17).

Further on, Sībawayh states that the proper answer to *man ra'aytahu* and *ayyuhum ra'aytahu* is *zaydun ra'aytuhu*. The nominative of *zayd* is based on the correspondence with the topic of the first sentence, i.e., *man* and *ayyuhum*. Moreover, it is like the expression *man muntaliqun* “who went his way?” or *ayyuhum rasûlun* “who of them is a prophet?”, whereupon the answer is *fulânun* “so and so”. According to Sībawayh, it is also permissible to use the accusative in *zayd* based on the correspondence with the personal pronoun *hu* of *ra'aytahu*, obtaining the accusative case-ending from a deleted paraphrastic verb at the beginning of the sentence (KS I,37/19-20).<sup>6</sup>

In relation to the aspects mentioned above – concerning the difference between nominal and verbal sentences – Sībawayh expresses the opinion that after the interrogative particle *a-* both nominative and accusative may occur in the noun as follows. In sentences like *a-'abdullâh ḍaraba akhûhu zaydan*, the noun *'abdullâh* is connected with *akhûhu* and has the nominative case-ending; *'abdullâh* is the topic and has the nominative *bi-al-ibtidâ'*, as if nothing stands before it, whereas *akhûhu* is the subject (*fâ'il*) of the verbal sentence, which forms the predicate.

In *a-'abdallâh ḍaraba akhûhu zaydun*, however, *'abdallâh* is connected with *akhûhu*, the object (*maf'ûl*) of the verbal sentence which has the accusative ending. The accusative in *'abdallâh* is caused by a paraphrastic verb which is hidden between the interrogative particle *a-* and the noun; this is exactly what happens in the proposition *zaydan ḍarabtuhu* (KS I,41/13-14; 18ff).<sup>7</sup>

On the basis of the above-mentioned theory, Sībawayh claims that *a-anta zaydun ʔarabtahu* is like *ana zaydun ʔarabtuhu*, in which the noun has the nominative *bi-al-ibtidāʔ*, whereas *a-anta zaydan ʔarabtahu* goes like *zaydan ʔarabtuhu*, with the accusative from a deleted verb (KS I,43/7-11; 13-15).

And now we turn to the critical comments which, in this case, come from al-Akhfash, followed by al-Ziyādī, and from al-Mubarrad.

According to al-Mubarrad, al-Akhfash and al-Ziyādī were of the opinion that the change of case-ending in *zaydun ʔarabtuhu wa-ʔamran kallamtuhu* is against the general rules of conjunctive sentences. When two sentences are connected, these grammarians argue, they have to have the same structure. They say that since *ʔarabtuhu* has the function of the predicate *muntaliquṇ* in *zaydun muntaliquṇ*, i.e., the position of the nominative, it is not permissible to connect it with the sentence *ʔamran kallamtuhu*, which has a different structure.<sup>8</sup> This means that only the nominal sentence *ʔamran kallamtuhu*, and not the verbal *ʔamran kallamtuhu*, may be connected with the nominal sentence *zaydun ʔarabtuhu*. In the *Radd*, al-Mubarrad agrees with this critical remark and states that Sībawayh is inconsistent in his theory on conjunctive sentences (*ms. Ibn Wallād* 25/12-26/6).

The link Sībawayh makes between the conjunction of two sentences and the answer *ʔalā kalāmihi* to the question *man raʔayta* or *man raʔaytahu* – an example he gives to illustrate that it is more proper to connect sentences with the same structure than to connect a nominal sentence to a verbal one – seems not to be appreciated by al-Akhfash and al-Mubarrad. Al-Akhfash comments on this subject in a marginal note to the *Kitāb*, stating that when someone asks *ayyuhum ʔarabtahu*, his question concerns the personal pronoun *hu* and because of this, one is allowed to answer *zaydan ʔarabtuhu*, on the basis of a correspondence with this personal pronoun, which has the status of the accusative (KS I,37/ap.20). Al-Mubarrad subscribes to this view in the *Radd* (*ms. Ibn Wallād* 25/5-10). In fact, this is exactly what Sībawayh means when he says that the answer is *zaydun raʔaytuhu* except in the theory of someone who says *zaydan raʔaytuhu* with *zayd* in the accusative case at the beginning of the sentence (KS I,37/19-20; see also note 6).

When al-Mubarrad states that Sībawayh contradicts his own general theory because he prefers the nominative in *zayd* to the accusative in the expression *a-anta zaydun/an ʔarabtahu*, he also follows al-Akhfash. The latter says in a marginal note to the *Kitāb* that the accusative in *zayd* is preferred because *anta*'s position of the nominative has to be caused by a verb and this same verb subsequently gives *zayd* the accusative case-ending (KS, I,43/ap.11).<sup>9</sup> In the *Radd*, al-Mubarrad holds the view that since

the interrogative particle in *a-anta zaydun/an darabtahu* asks about the verb, there has to be a deleted paraphrastic verb following *-a*. And when a paraphrastic verb is introduced, it has to exert its correct government: it gives *anta* the nominative case-ending and puts *zayd* in the accusative. Al-Mubarrad uses the following underlying structures as explanation: *a-darabta anta zaydan*, which is comparable with *a-anta taqûlu zaydan muntaliquan* and *a-taqûlu (anta) zaydan muntaliquan*. He mentions al-Akhfash *et alii* holding the same view (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* 31/12-32/4).

The disagreement between Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad, who subscribes to al-Akhfash's view, regarding the connection between the nominal sentence *zaydun darabtuhu* and the verbal sentence '*amran kallamtuhu*' is based on al-Mubarrad's conviction that it is not allowed to connect two sentences with different structures.<sup>10</sup> In the *Muqtaḍab*, al-Mubarrad does not discuss the expression *zaydun laqîtuhi wa-'amran kallamtuhu*, but he does bring forward a similar issue. With regard to the expression *inna zaydan muntaliquan wa-'amran/'amrun*, he allows both accusative and nominative in '*amr*'. The accusative occurs on the basis of a correspondence with the accusative in *zayd* (and '*amr*' being *mithluhu*), whereas the nominative is based on an agreement with the function of *inna zaydan* being the *mubtada'*/nominative, as in *zaydun muntaliquan* (*Muqtaḍab* IV,111/5ff). Inasmuch as al-Mubarrad in the *Muqtaḍab* holds the view that *inna zaydan muntaliquan wa-'amran* is a proper expression, but *inna zaydan muntaliquan wa-'amrun* a better one because of the agreement in function – which is in accordance with Sîbawayh's opinion on *zaydun darabtuhu wa-'amrun/'amran kallamtuhu* – and, moreover, since he does not even allude to his original criticism of Sîbawayh, we may conclude that on this point he reconsidered his critical attitude.<sup>11</sup>

As to the element of sentence-pattern ('*alâ kalâmihi*'), which Sîbawayh introduces in his example of the answer to *man ra'ayta/ra'aytahu* and which is criticized by al-Mubarrad in the *Radd*, very little information is found in the *Muqtaḍab*. However, al-Mubarrad devotes much attention to the reversed construction, proposition followed by question, like *ra'aytu 'abdallâh; man 'abdallâh/'abdullâh*.<sup>12</sup> He states that after every kind of proposition – in the nominative, accusative, or genitive – it is allowed to formulate the question not according to sentence-pattern, but using the nominative as in a *mubtada'/khabar* construction, thus having *man 'abdullâh* in all situations. It is the way of speech of the Banû Tamîm and, al-Mubarrad adds, it has Sîbawayh's preference (*Muqtaḍab* II,309/10-12).

There is no evidence in the *Muqtaḍab* that al-Mubarrad attached great importance to the principle of sentence-pattern in the answer following a question, so it seems that he did not feel the need to bring forward again his original criticism of Sîbawayh on this matter.

While the arguments Sībawayh brings up in the discussion about the question *a-anta zaydun/zaydan ʔarabtaḥu* centre on the difference between the structure of the sentence following the interrogative particle *a-*, both al-Akhfash and al-Mubarrad direct their attention to the part of the sentence the interrogative *a-* asks about. In the *Radd*, al-Mubarrad takes it for granted that *a-* asks about the verb and, consequently, he holds the view that there has to be a deleted paraphrastic verb between *a-* and the rest of the sentence.

In the *Muqtaḍab*, however, al-Mubarrad claims that *a-* by virtue of its being the pre-eminent interrogative particle (the *asʔ* of the interrogative particles) may be applied to a noun followed by a verb in a *mubtadaʔ/khabar* construction, as in *a-zaydun qāma* (*Muqtaḍab* II,72/10). However, the particle does not have government and therefore cannot affect the noun. In sentences like *a-zaydan ʔarabtaḥu* al-Mubarrad explicitly introduces a deleted paraphrastic verb between the interrogative particle and the following noun which takes on the accusative from this deleted verb (*Muqtaḍab* II,74/3-4; 298/9ff). From this, we may conclude that al-Mubarrad reconsidered his initial opinion; he agrees with Sībawayh in the *Muqtaḍab* on this matter. The structures *zaydun ʔarabtaḥu* and *zaydan ʔarabtaḥu* are dealt with in different ways, they have different underlying structures and the interrogative particle *a-* cannot affect these. It is conspicuous, though, that the difference in meaning of the two sentences is not discussed, neither by Sībawayh nor by al-Mubarrad.<sup>13</sup>

Several grammarians of the generations after al-Mubarrad elaborate on the *masʔal* discussed above. They explain the different positions one can take, and which actually have been taken in these matters. It is striking that al-Mubarrad is not referred to in nearly all their presentations.

Al-Fārisī presents the discussion about the conjunction *zaydun laqīṭuhu wa-ʔamrun/ʔamran kallamtuhu* in the first *masʔala* of his *Masʔal al-basriyyāt* (211-16). He puts forward al-Akhfash's critical views as we know them from the marginal notes to the *Kitāb* and from al-Mubarrad's *Radd*.<sup>14</sup> He then adds: "Muḥammad b. Yazīd [al-Mubarrad] says: 'this is the opinion of al-Ziyādī and as far as I am concerned it is the *qiyās*'". Al-Fārisī himself does not subscribe to this view and agrees with Sībawayh (*Basriyyāt* 213/3-6).<sup>15</sup>

With regard to the discussion about the interrogative sentence *a-anta zaydun/zaydan ʔarabtaḥu*, al-Fārisī refers to the opinion of al-Djarmī, who allows only the nominative in *zayd*. No mention is made of the critical notes of al-Akhfash or al-Mubarrad (*Basriyyāt* 900-901).

Abū Naṣr Hārūn b. Mūsā refers to al-Akhfash's marginal notes on the comparison which Sībawayh makes between the conjunctive sentence *zaydun laqīṭuhu wa-ʔamrun kallamtuhu* and the correct answer to *man*

*ra'ayta/man ra'aytahu* on the basis of sentence-pattern. He refutes al-Akhfash's criticism and agrees with Sībawayh. He does not mention al-Mubarrad (*Sharḥ* KS 71/4-11).

Ibn Maḍā' quotes al-Akhfash and al-Mubarrad, saying that they prefer the accusative in *zayd* in the interrogative sentence *a-anta zaydan ʔarabta-hu* and additionally presents Ibn Wallād's refutation, which he thinks is weak (*Radd* 111-12). This does not mean, however, that Ibn Maḍā' disagrees with Sībawayh.

As to the conjunctive sentence, Ibn Maḍā' elaborates on the criticisms of Sībawayh (see note 8) as we know them from al-Akhfash, al-Ziyādī and al-Mubarrad, without, however, mentioning their names. Again, he refers to the refutation of Ibn Wallād; this time he thinks his arguments are not to the point (*Radd* 115-18).

According to Ibn Ya'īsh, the interrogative *a-* in *a-'abdallāh ʔarabtahu* is preferably followed by the accusative, because it asks about the verb, but it is also allowed to use the nominative after *a-* in a *mubtada'/khabar* construction (*Sharḥ* II,34/10-11).<sup>16</sup> Ibn Ya'īsh does not mention any disagreements on this point and makes no references to other grammarians.

With regard to the conjunctive sentence under discussion, Ibn Ya'īsh rephrases the opinion of the threesome al-Akhfash, al-Ziyādī and al-Mubarrad, but he does not mention them by name, either (*Sharḥ* II,32/25-33/16). He himself does not take position on the matter.

Abū Hayyān refers to the critical comments of al-Akhfash regarding the interrogative sentence *a-anta zaydun...* and says that he is refuted by Ibn Wallād and Ibn Maḍā'. He does not make mention of al-Mubarrad in this respect (*Manḥadj* 121/25-33).

As far as the conjunctive sentence is concerned, Abū Hayyān brings forward four different points of view on the accusative of *'amr* in *zaydun laqītu-hu wa-'amran kallamtuhū*. He states that some (*djamā'a*) of the early grammarians and al-Fārisī allow the construction with the accusative and that al-Akhfash and al-Ziyādī oppose this view. The remaining two opinions do not concern us. Important is the fact that, again, al-Mubarrad is not mentioned (*Manḥadj* 122/29-123/12).

We have seen above that al-Mubarrad states in the *Radd* that Sībawayh contradicts his own general theory on conjunctive sentences. In expressing this rather serious criticism of Sībawayh, al-Mubarrad follows his predecessors al-Akhfash and al-Ziyādī. Notice has to be taken, however, of the fact that none of these grammarians disagrees with Sībawayh on the principal notions underlying their divergent views, notably the different structures of nominal and verbal



sentences.<sup>17</sup> We gain the strong impression that al-Mubarrad's criticism is due to a misunderstanding or even careless reading of Sībawayh's text; he seems to accept al-Akhfash's criticism of Sībawayh all too easily.

We have also seen that al-Mubarrad retracts his initial objections. His views as we know them from the *Muqtaḍab* are in complete harmony with Sībawayh's theory. No trace whatsoever is left of any misunderstanding of the *Kitāb* and his ideas as presented in the *Muqtaḍab* are careful and well-considered.

As far as the presentation of al-Mubarrad's ideas in the later grammatical tradition is concerned, it appears that the grammarians who knew about his critical attitude, were not informed about the fact that he reconsidered his position later on. Both al-Fārisī and Ibn Maḍā were acquainted with the *Radd* – the latter even knew about Ibn Wallād's refutation –, but they apparently did not know the *Muqtaḍab*. Abū Naṣr Hārūn b. Mūsā, Ibn Ya'īsh and Abū Ḥayyān were informed about the fact that Sībawayh had been criticized on this subject, but they did not associate these critical remarks with the name of al-Mubarrad.

## 2. The separation between the genitive and its operator

A noun in Arabic can be defined not only by an adjective but by another noun as well. The determining noun, which is usually a substantive, is put in the genitive by the determined noun. The nouns are related as the two parts of a genitive construction. This relation is called by the Arab grammarians *al-idāfa*; the determined noun, i.e., the governing first part of the construction is called *al-muḍāf*, the determining noun *al-muḍāf ilayhi*. A genitive construction generally indicates a relation between possession and possessor, as in *dhirā'ā al-asadi* "the forelegs of the lion", or an affiliation, as in *taymu 'adīyīn* "Taym of the tribe 'Adī".

In correct Arabic, the first part of a genitive construction is always just one noun. When more nouns have to be determined by one substantive, as in "the forelegs and the forehead of the lion", only one noun occurs in a genitive construction. The relation between the other nouns and the determining substantive is expressed by a personal pronoun. Thus, one says *dhirā'ā al-asadi wa-djabhatuhu* "the forelegs

of the lion and his forehead”, and not *dhirâ‘â wa-djabhatu al-asadi*, in which the genitive construction is broken by the insertion of *wa-djabhatu*.

However, exceptions to this rule do occur in Arabic, especially in poetry; the above-mentioned *dhirâ‘â wa-djabhatu al-asadi* is, as a matter of fact, one of the poetical lines discussed by the Arab grammarians to establish under which conditions separation between the two parts of a genitive construction is permitted.

Although al-Mubarrad subscribes to Sîbawayh’s view on the separation between the two parts of a genitive construction — the subject discussed in *mas’ala* 21 —, his remarks stand at the beginning of a long discussion which eventually ends up in Ibn al-Anbârî’s *Inṣâf*, allegedly representing a point of disagreement between the Basrans and the Kufans. The subject is brought forward by Sîbawayh on several occasions; he is of the opinion that, in general, one does not separate between the genitive and its operator (*KS* I,74/7ff).

Al-Akhfash reacts against this in a marginal note, saying that separation between the two parts of a genitive construction indeed is not done, except in poetry. He quotes ‘Îsâ b. ‘Umar who read to him the following line: *fa-zadjdjadjtuhâ bi-mizadjdjatin zadjdja al-qalûṣa abî mazâdah* “I pierced her with an eyebrow instrument the way Abû Mazâda pierced his she-camel”, in which the genitive construction *zadjdja abî mazâdah* is separated by the object *al-qalûṣa*. However, the marginal note continues with a remark by al-Mubarrad who claims that this line is rejected by all his colleagues (*KS* I,74/ap.19).<sup>18</sup>

That Sîbawayh does, however, allow separation between a genitive and its operator under certain conditions appears within the context of his discussion of constructions like *yâ sâriqa al-laylati ahla al-dâri* “O you who spend the night with the people of the house”, an example of *sa‘at al-kalâm*.<sup>19</sup>

One of the alternatives to this construction is *yâ sâriqa al-laylata ahli al-dâri*; but this is, according to Sîbawayh, only permitted in poetry, because here the noun of time *al-layla* separates the two parts of a genitive construction, namely *sâriq* and *ahl al-dâr*.

Sîbawayh illustrates the poetic license of separation between the genitive and its operator with several quotations, amongst which the following verses: *illâ ‘ulâlata aw budâhata qârihin* “except the first running or the after-running of a camel” (*KS* I,76/8) and *bayna dhirâ‘ay wa-djabhati al-asadi* “between the forelegs and the forehead of the lion” (*KS* I,76/16).<sup>20</sup>

To this part of the text the following marginal note from al-Mubarrad is attached:

This is correct, because the meaning is *illâ 'ulâlata qârihin aw budâhata qârihin*; but since [*qârihin*] is mentioned in the second instance, it is deleted in the first, because of its dispensability. The same holds for *bayna dhirâ'ay wa-djabhati al-asadi* with the meaning of *bayna dhirâ'ay al-asadi wa-djabhati al-asadi*, in which [*al-asad*] is dropped in the first instance, because of its dispensability (KS I,76/ap.8).

In the *Radd*, too, al-Mubarrad affirms Sîbawayh's theory about separation between the genitive and its operator being allowed in poetry. Moreover, like Sîbawayh, he identifies the difference between a separation caused by a conjunction (*'af*; as in the *bayna dhirâ'ay...* line) on the one hand and a separation caused by a noun of time (*zarf*; as in the above-mentioned example *yâ sâriqa al-laylata...*) on the other (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* 58/8-59/3).

Additionally, al-Mubarrad refers to the analogy (*qiyâs*) of conjunctions like *yâ bu'sa lil-harb* "O sorrow of the war", in which a genitive particle is inserted, and *yâ tayma tayma 'adîyin* "O Taym, Taym of the tribe 'Adî". Sîbawayh deals with this last example much later, in his "chapter in which the noun in the first part of the genitive construction is repeated while both nouns have the same status" (KS I,272-74). He explains that the second noun is inserted between the first and the second part of the genitive construction for emphasis (*tawkidan*; KS I,273/6).

In the *Muqtaḍab*, al-Mubarrad devotes, just like Sîbawayh in his *Kitâb*, a separate chapter to "two nouns which have the same *lafz*, the last of the two being a *mudâf*" (*Muqtaḍab* IV,227ff). In this chapter, al-Mubarrad discusses constructions like *yâ zaydu zayda 'amrin* "O Zayd, Zayd of 'Amr" and *yâ taymu tayma 'adîyin* "O Taym, Taym of the tribe 'Adî", which he prefers to explain as an explanatory apposition with the accusative case-ending (*'af al-bayân*; *Muqtaḍab* IV,227/6).

An alternative way of expressing this line is to say *yâ zayda zayda 'amrin* and *yâ tayma tayma 'adîyin*. In this case, there are two possible explanations: either the second noun is crammed in between the first and the second part of the genitive construction for emphasis, or there is an underlying structure that reveals a deleted second part which is left out in the surface structure, as in *yâ tayma 'adîyin tayma 'adîyin*. And this, al-Mubarrad continues, is like *illâ 'ulâlata aw budâhata qârihin*, or like *bayna dhirâ'ay wa-djabhati al-asadi*.<sup>21</sup> However, as mentioned before, al-Mubarrad considers *yâ taymu tayma 'adîyin* with the nominative in the first noun and the second an explanatory apposition, to be the proper expression, because there is no poetic license applied and nothing has been deleted (*Muqtaḍab* IV,227/8-230/1).

It appears from the above that al-Mubarrad does not have and, as a matter of fact, never had any substantial criticism of Sībawayh as far as the subject under discussion is concerned. They agree on the principal rule that separation between the two parts of a genitive construction is only allowed under certain conditions and even then only by poetic license. However, the two possible explanations for the *yâ tayma* line, which we find side by side in the *Muqtaḍab*, lead to two different underlying structures. This is the reason why some of the later grammarians consider al-Mubarrad's opinion to be a theory which differs from Sībawayh's view.<sup>22</sup> Let us now turn to the ideas brought forward by other grammarians on this subject.

As we have seen above, both Sībawayh and al-Mubarrad accept separation between the genitive and its operator by an adverb (*ẓarf*) or a conjunction (*'atf*) as a poetic license. Additionally, they accept separation by means of a genitive particle (*ḥarf djar*), as in *yâ bu'sa lil-ḥarb* (*KS* I,273/9-10; *Kāmil* III,217/13-218/3). Sībawayh does not discuss the possibility of separation by something else, but from one of the marginal notes to the *Kitāb* (I,74/ap.19) we learn that al-Mubarrad explicitly rejects the *zadjja al-qalūša abî mazādah* line, because here the genitive construction is separated by an object.

In holding this view, al-Mubarrad works along the lines of his predecessor al-Farrâ', who does not allow the separation by an object and only accepts the *zadjja* line with *qalūš* in the genitive and *abû* in the nominative: *zadjja al-qalūši abû mazādah* (*Ma'ânî*, I,357-58; II,81-82).<sup>23</sup> Al-Farrâ' accepts the separation by an adverb or a conjunction, although he is of the opinion that only companion things (*iṣṭahaba*), like the *ḥirâ'ân* and the *djabha* of the lion, and not distant things (*tabâ'ada*), like *dâr* and *ghulâm* or *'abd* and *umm*, may be joined in this kind of constructions (*Ma'ânî* II,321-22).

Al-Mubarrad's contemporary Tha'lab not only accepts separation by a *ẓarf*, as in *lillâhi darru al-yawma man lâmahâ* "How excellent is the one who blames it on her today", but also the *zadjja al-qalūša abî mazādah* line with separation by an object (*Madjâlîs* I,125/8-126-1).<sup>24</sup>

Al-Zadjjâdjî opts for Sībawayh's interpretation of the *yâ tayma tayma* 'adîyin line and says that the two accusatives have the status of one noun being *mudâf ilâ 'adîyin*. He compares the line with the expression *yâ zayda bna 'amrin*, of which the underlying structure reveals the genitive construction *zayda 'amrin*; the *ibn* is inserted between the two parts of this genitive construction (*Djumal* 157-58).<sup>25</sup>

Contrary to al-Zadjjâdjî, al-Sîrâfî refers to a difference of opinion between Sībawayh and al-Mubarrad. He says that in Sībawayh's view the second noun is a *tawkid* to the first, whereas al-Mubarrad holds the view

that the first noun is *mudâf ilâ* a deleted noun. Al-Sîrâfî adds to this that he himself has yet another explanation for this kind of expressions. He is of the opinion that the second noun is an attribute (*naʿt*) of the first (KS *Bûlâq* I,315).<sup>26</sup>

Ibn Djinnî starts off by stating that separation between the genitive and its operator by means of a *zarf* or a genitive particle is indeed very reprehensible (*qabîḥ*), only permitted in poetry, not in ordinary speech (*Khaṣāʾiṣ* II,404/11-12). This he illustrates with some examples from poetry and then he appears to accept even the disputed *zadjdja* line (II,406/1-4). Ibn Djinnî subscribes to Sîbawayh's interpretation of *illâ ʿulâlata aw buddâhata qâriḥin* and *bayna dhirâʾay wa-djabhati al-asadi* and subsequently presents what we know as al-Mubarrad's explanation of these lines: the underlying structure *illâ ʿulâlata qâriḥin aw buddâhatahu* or *illâ ʿulâlata qâriḥin aw buddâhata qâriḥin* (II,407/3-ff; also *Sirr* I,297). He makes no mention of al-Mubarrad.

Abû Naṣr Hârûn b. Mûsâ recognizes a clear distinction between the theory of Sîbawayh and that of al-Mubarrad. His starting point is yet another poetical line: *naḥnu bimâ ʿindanâ wa-anta bimâ ʿindaka râḍin* "We are with what we have and you are with what you have satisfied". In his view, *naḥnu bimâ ʿindanâ wa-anta bimâ ʿindaka râḍin* is the underlying structure; *râḍin* has been put in the place of (*fī mawḍiʿi*) *râḍûn*. Abû Naṣr claims that this corresponds with Sîbawayh's theory, whereas al-Mubarrad is of the opinion that the underlying structure reveals a deleted *khabar* as follows: *naḥnu bimâ ʿindanâ râḍûn wa-anta bimâ ʿindaka râḍin*. And, Abû Naṣr continues, al-Mubarrad gives also preference to this interpretation with regard to the *yâ tayma tayma ʿadîyin* line, as well as the *bayna dhirâʾay wa-djabhati al-asadi* line (*Sharḥ* KS 63ff; also 52).

Although Ibn Yaʿîsh acknowledges a difference of opinion between Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad as far as the explanation and interpretation of the above-mentioned examples from poetry are concerned, he emphasizes the fact that they do not disagree fundamentally, because both allow the separation between the genitive and its operator for poetic necessity (*Sharḥ* II,10/3ff; III,21/9ff).

It is not altogether clear what made Ibn al-Anbârî identify the *masʾala* under discussion as a point of disagreement between Basran and Kufan grammarians (*Inṣâf* II,427-36; nr.60). One of the *Belegverse* he presents to back his argument that the Kufans accept separation by means of something other than adverb or genitive particle, is the *zadjdja al-qalûṣa abî mazâdah* line. Inasmuch as this reading is not at all discussed by Sîbawayh, rejected by al-Farrâʾ and al-Mubarrad and accepted by al-Akhfash, so it seems, and Thaʿlab and Ibn Djinnî, there is no reason whatsoever to believe that the disagreements on this matter reflect a chasm between di-

verging schools of grammar. It is striking, though, that Ibn al-Anbârî does not bring up the different opinions on the underlying structure of the other examples discussed in the context of this *mas'ala*. However, even if he had presented these differences, he might have proven a disagreement between Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad, certainly not a difference between a Basran and a Kufan school of grammar.<sup>27</sup>

As far as the issue of separation between the two parts of a genitive construction is concerned, we have seen that al-Mubarrad subscribes to Sîbawayh's view in both the *Radd* and the *Muqtaḍab*. They agree on the principle that separation is permitted by poetic license, but only under certain conditions. They agree on the nature of these conditions, too.

Al-Mubarrad, however, gives two possible explanations of the poetry lines discussed in the context of this *mas'ala*, and these explanations are based on two different underlying structures. It appears that this was the reason why some of the later grammarians – notably al-Sîrâfî and Abû Naṣr Hârûn b. Mûsâ – recognized a disagreement between Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad. Ibn Djinnî, on the other hand, does not see any difference of opinion between the two grammarians and he mixes their ideas making no explicit distinction between them. While Ibn Ya'îsh acknowledges that al-Mubarrad's interpretation slightly differs from that of Sîbawayh, he emphasizes that their views are not contradictory.

We have also seen that the ideas of Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad correspond with the views of al-Farrâ', but differ from those of Tha'lab. That Ibn al-Anbârî discusses the issue of separation between the genitive and its operator in terms of a disagreement between Basran and Kufan grammarians is, therefore, at the least very surprising.

### 3. The status of the personal pronoun *-ka* in *al-dâribû/âka*

In the introduction to the previous paragraph, we have seen that when a noun is defined by another noun, the first noun governs the second and puts it in the genitive case, as in *ghulâmu zaydin* "Zayd's boy". The nouns become the two parts of a genitive construction. Arab grammarians distinguish between a proper genitive construction (*al-idâfa al-haqîqa*) and an improper one (*al-idâfa ghayr al-haqîqa*). In a proper genitive construction, the first part is always a substantive

noun. This governing noun can never be preceded by the article *al-* (\**al-ghulâmu zaydin*). Moreover, it loses its nunation (in the singular) or its final *nûn* (in the dual and plural). The *idâfa* alternates, so to speak, with the nunation/final *nûn*; they cannot occur together (\**ghulâmun zaydin*).

However, the first part of a genitive construction may also be an adjective, as in *ḥasanu al-wadjhi* “handsome of face”. If this is the case, we are dealing with an improper *idâfa*; it stands in the place of an accusative of specification (*tamyîz*). In an improper genitive construction, the article *al-* may be prefixed to the governing first part, as in *zaydun al-ḥasanu al-wadjhi* “Zayd, the handsome of face”.

The active participle of a transitive verb, too, occurs as the first part of an improper *idâfa*, as in *dâribu zaydin* “the one who hit Zayd”. Although the expression *al-dâribu zaydin*, analogous to *al-ḥasanu al-wadjhi*, does occur, the determined active participle incorporates the meaning of *alladhî daraba* “(he) who hit” and therefore more commonly exerts a verbal government: it gives the following noun the accusative case (*al-dâribu zaydan*).

When the dual and plural forms of the active participle are determined by the article *al-*, they usually govern the accusative as well, as in *al-dâribâni zaydan* and *al-dâribûna zaydan*. However, when their ending *ni/na* is left out, they enter into an improper genitive construction and give the following noun the genitive case-ending (*al-dâribâ zaydin* and *al-dâribû zaydin*).

The present *mas’ala* deals with the governance of the active participle when it is followed by a suffixed personal pronoun instead of a substantive noun. The discussion centres on the status of the personal pronoun, especially on the question whether *-ka* in *al-dâribâ/ûka* (dual and plural without the final *nûn*) has the position of an accusative or a genitive.

The chapter in which Sībawayh deals with the governance of the active participle (*ism fâ’il*) having the status (*manzila*) of the expression *alladhî fa’ala* “(he) who did” — the subject of *mas’ala* 22 —, includes a marginal note from al-Akhfash, who appears to disagree with Sībawayh (KS I, 79/ap.14). In the *Radd*, al-Mubarrad reacts against the critical attitude of al-Akhfash and expresses explicit consent to Sībawayh’s theory, to which we shall first direct our attention.

In expressions like *hâdhâ al-dâribu zaydan* “this is the one who hit Zayd” and *hâdhâ al-dâribu al-radjula* “this is the one who hit the man”, *zayd* and *al-radjul* take the accusative case-ending, because *al-dâribu* not only has the meaning of *alladhî ɖaraba* “(he) who hit”, but its government as well. The article (*al-alif wa-al-lâm*) prevents *al-dâribu* from entering into a genitive construction.<sup>28</sup> However, *hâdhâ al-dâribu zaydin* with the genitive in *zayd* also occurs; it is compared with the construction *al-ḥasanu al-wadjhi*, although, according to Sībawayh, these expressions are not alike. Sībawayh explicitly states that using the accusative is the ordinary way of speech (*wadjh al-kalâm*; KS I,77/7-13).

The active participle in its dual and plural form also governs the accusative. In *humâ al-dâribâni zaydan* and *hum al-dâribâna al-radjula*, *zayd* and *al-radjul* take the accusative, which is the only possible way because of the presence of the final *nûn* of the dual and plural forms (KS I,78/1-2).<sup>29</sup> However, when the ending *ni/na* is left out, the following noun takes its place and is put in the genitive, as in *humâ al-dâribâ zaydin* and *hum al-dâribû ‘amrin*. Although Sībawayh acknowledges that the accusative does occur in combination with elision of the final *nûn*,<sup>30</sup> he holds the view that the dual and plural forms with the article and without the ending *ni/na* ought to be followed by a noun in the genitive case (KS I,78/5-9).

Following from this – the fact that when the *nûn* has been left out and *al-dâribû/â* is followed by a substantive noun (*muzhar*), the latter is in the genitive case – Sībawayh states that in the constructions *hum al-dâribûka* and *humâ al-dâribâka* the suffixed personal pronoun (*muḍmar mut-taṣil*) *-ka* has the status of the genitive (KS I,79/1-2).<sup>31</sup> To this he adds that both nunation and final *nûn* are additions (*zawâ'id*) which can only occur at the end of a word and consequently have to be elided when a suffixed personal pronoun is used (KS I,79/5-8).<sup>32</sup>

To this part of the *Kitâb* a marginal note is attached, according to which al-Akhfash disagrees with Sībawayh.<sup>33</sup> In his view, *-ka* in *al-dâribû/âka* can only have the status of the accusative. It is impossible for the suffixed personal pronoun to occur together with the final *nûn*; therefore the *nûn* is elided and replaced by the personal pronoun which has the status of the accusative. It is just like in the singular when the nunation is replaced by the article and the participle is not allowed to enter into a genitive construction. In *huwa al-dâribuka* the personal pronoun *-ka* can only on the status of an accusative.

According to the same marginal note, al-Djarmî and al-Mâzinî do not agree with al-Akhfash; they consider *-ka* in *al-dâribû/âka* to be in the genitive case and, it is added, this is also al-Mubarrad’s point of view (KS I,79/ap.14).



Indeed, in the *Radd*, al-Mubarrad attacks al-Akhfash and says that the status of the personal pronoun has to be inferred from the status of the substantive noun in similar constructions. On the basis of this al-Mubarrad agrees with Sībawayh, saying that the personal pronoun *-ka* in *al-ḍāribū/bū/āka* has the status of the genitive (*ms. Ibn Wallād*, 61/10-13).<sup>34</sup>

In the *Muqtaḍab*, al-Mubarrad also follows Sībawayh in his theory regarding the government of the active participle. He states that the participle preceded by the article in the meaning of *allādhī* – and which alternates with the *tanwīn* – is followed by a substantive noun in the accusative case. *Hādhā al-ḍāribu zaydan* has the meaning of *allādhī ḍaraba zaydan*. The participle governs the accusative because it contains the meaning of a verb. Nouns that are not derived from the verb do not have this verbal meaning, so the expression *hādhā al-ghulāmu zaydan* is not correct (*Muqtaḍab* IV,144/8-14).

The same holds for participles in their dual and plural form, as in *hādhāni al-ḍāribāni zaydan*. The final *nūn* of the dual and plural does not take turns with the article, because it is stronger than the nunation of the singular.<sup>35</sup> However, when the ending *-ni/-na* is deleted, its place is taken by the following noun in the genitive case: *hum al-ḍāribū zaydin* and *humā al-ḍāribā zaydin* (*Muqtaḍab* IV,144/15-145/6).<sup>36</sup>

Although al-Mubarrad does not discuss Sībawayh's examples of the active participle followed by a suffixed personal pronoun, we know from previous statements in the *Muqtaḍab* that he applies the rule that the status of such a pronoun has to be inferred from the status of the substantive noun in similar constructions, as he brought forward in the *Radd*. When he explains the use of the personal pronoun of the first person singular, al-Mubarrad expresses the view that *-ī* suffixed to the singular form of the active participle, as in *hādhā al-ḍāribī* "this is the one who hit me", has the status of the accusative.<sup>37</sup> As an indication for this, al-Mubarrad refers to the use of the accusative in the expression *hādhā al-ḍāribu zaydan* (*Muqtaḍab* I,383/14-18; I,398/5-10).

The diverging theories of Sībawayh and al-Akhfash are not the only ones current at the time. Their contemporary al-Farrā' has yet another interpretation of the kind of expressions under discussion.<sup>38</sup> In his view, the singular form of the active participle preceded by the article is followed by the accusative, as in *al-ḍāribu zaydan*. Using the genitive case is allowed on the basis of a similarity with the expression *al-hasanu al-wadjhi*, although this is not the ordinary way of speech. The dual and plural forms most properly take the genitive when the final *nūn* is deleted: *al-ḍāribā zaydin* and *al-ḍāribū zaydin*. This is to indicate on the one hand the difference with dual and plural forms which maintain the ending *-ni/-na* – they take a following noun in the accusative case – and on the other hand the

contrast with the singular which lacks the possibility to show or delete such a final *nûn* (not to be confused with nunation).

When a personal pronoun is used instead of a substantive noun, according to al-Farrâ', this pronoun has always the status of the genitive, whether the participle is singular, dual or plural; *al-dâribuka* and *al-dâribâ/ûka*.<sup>39</sup> However, unlike the singular, the dual and plural forms may show their final *nûn*; when they do, the following personal pronoun takes the status of the accusative. Should someone want to use the singular active participle followed by an accusative personal pronoun, al-Farrâ' continues, he should say *huwa al-dâribu iyyâhu*, but this is not done in correct speech (*Ma'ânî* II,225/15-226/11).

Thus, contrary to Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad following his path, al-Farrâ' does not establish the status of the personal pronoun on the basis of the status of the substantive noun in similar constructions. This appears from the fact that in his view, *-ka* in the singular *al-dâribuka* has the genitive status, not the accusative, to show the difference with the dual and plural forms, which take the accusative when their final *nûn* is not deleted. As we have seen above (note 32) Sîbawayh considers the examples from poetry *al-âmirânahu* and *muḥtadîrânahu*, in which the ending *-na* is followed by a personal pronoun, to be fabricated (*maṣnû'*; KS I,79/11). Al-Mubarrad consents to this (*Kâmil* I,364/5-11).

Tha'lab (*Madjâlis* I,123-24) discusses the disputed poetical lines just mentioned, but does not elaborate on the subject. He takes *al-fâ'ilûhu* to be an alternative to *al-fâ'ilûnahu*, accepting both as correct expressions. He thus follows al-Farrâ' in this respect.

When discussing Qur'ân 22:35 *wa-al-muqîmî al-ṣalâti*, al-Zadjjâdj (*Ma'ânî* III,427) claims that there are readers who use the accusative, as *wa-al-muqîmî al-ṣalâta*, although, he says, this is against the *Muṣḥaf*. For an explanation, al-Zadjjâdj refers to Sîbawayh's interpretation of the *al-hâfizû 'awrata al-'ashîrati* line with deletion of the final *nûn* and subsequent use of the accusative because of running speech. Al-Zadjjâdj does not discuss any of the other aspects of the theory under discussion, nor does he mention other grammarians.

Al-Zadjjâdjî (*Djurnal* 84-91) and Ibn Djinnî (*Sirr* II,358) present the version of the theory which we have come to know as the traditional Sîbawayh/al-Mubarrad theory, without references to other grammarians or diverging points of view. The same holds for Abû Naṣr Hârûn b. Mûsâ (*Sharḥ* 98-99).

Al-Fârisî (*Baṣriyyât* II,861ff) seems to be the first after al-Akhfash to formulate some original ideas on the subject. He considers the personal pronouns *-hu* and *-ka* in *al-dâribuhu* and *al-dâribuka* to be in the function of the accusative, because a substantive noun in similar constructions must

be in the accusative case. Allowing the genitive in a substantive noun following the active participle singular which is defined by the article is absolutely incorrect. The reason for this is the fact that the singular loses its nunation when preceded by the article and therefore has nothing left to be replaced by an *idāfa*.<sup>40</sup> Thus, al-Fārisī rejects the comparison with *al-ḥasanu al-wadji*, which Sībawayh and al-Mubarrad accept.

Moreover, when he says that in the dual and plural, as in *al-dāribāka* and *al-dāribūka*, *-ka* also has the status of the accusative — just as it has when the final *nūn* is not deleted — because it has the meaning of an accusative, he develops a diverging line of reasoning. The underlying structure is, in his view, based on the maintenance of the final *nūn* or on the intention of maintaining it (*ithbāt al-nūn* or *fī niyyat al-thabāt*). The same holds for the *tanwīn* of the singular, which is also *fī niyyat al-thabāt* in the underlying structure; hence, in all cases, the personal pronoun takes on the status of an accusative. Al-Fārisī refers to the theory according to which the status of the *muḍmar* is established on the basis of the status of a *muḥzar* in similar constructions, but he prefers not to equate personal pronoun and substantive noun. Notice has to be taken of the fact that al-Fārisī does not mention the names of grammarians who hold the views he himself rejects.

As far as the later grammarians are concerned, Ibn Ya'īsh (*Sharḥ* II, 124-25) presents Sībawayh's theory as it is transmitted by al-Sirāfi, and the diverging opinion of al-Akhfash which he says he knows through al-Ziyādī. From al-Zamakhsharī's explanation of the subject, Ibn Ya'īsh concludes that the former holds the view that a *muḍmar mutṭaṣil* following a definite active participle must have the status of a genitive. Ibn Ya'īsh claims not to know whose theory this is, but asserts that it has been falsely ascribed to Sībawayh.

Al-Baghdādī discusses the dual and plural forms in which the final *nūn* is followed by a personal pronoun in the context of the examples from poetry *al-āmīrūnahu* and *muḥtadīrūnahu* (*Khizāna* IV, 269/12-272/3; see also above and note 32). Besides, he explains the different opinions on the use of the genitive or accusative in the *al-ḥāfizū 'awrata/i al-'ashirati* line (*Khizāna* IV, 272/4ff). He refers to several grammarians, amongst them Sībawayh, al-Mubarrad, al-Nahhās, Ibn al-Sarrādj and Ibn Djinnī, thus providing us with rather much information on the subject, which, as a matter of fact, corroborates the data from the sources presented above.

The only new element al-Baghdādī comes up with, is his reference to al-Nahhās who is said to have claimed that al-Mubarrad falsely accuses Sībawayh of holding incorrect views regarding the *al-āmīrūnahu* and *muḥtadīrūnahu* lines (*Khizāna* IV, 270/1-4).<sup>41</sup>

It is with Abû Ḥayyân that we obtain a completely different picture of the discussions on this *mas'ala*. In the *Manhadj*, we find agreement between the theories of Sîbawayh and al-Akhfash and, moreover, we are confronted with theories which diverge from Sîbawayh ascribed to al-Mubarrad.

According to Abû Ḥayyân (*Manhadj* 337/8ff), both Sîbawayh and al-Akhfash hold the view that the personal pronoun *-ka* in the singular *al-dâribuka* has the status of the accusative, whereas al-Mubarrad—in one of his *qawlân*, Abû Ḥayyân adds— al-Rummânî and those who follow them are of the opinion that it can only have the genitive status. Al-Farrâ' is said to allow both accusative and genitive. This runs counter to our information presented above, according to which Sîbawayh, al-Akhfash and al-Mubarrad consider the *muḍmar* attached to the singular active participle to be in the function of the accusative, whereas according to al-Farrâ' it has the status of a genitive.

With regard to the dual and plural forms, Abû Ḥayyân presents the following opinions: Sîbawayh holds the view that *-ka* in *al-dâribâ/ûka* may have both accusative and genitive status, al-Djarmî, al-Mâzinî and al-Mubarrad only accept the genitive. However, we have seen that al-Akhfash—in his theory followed by al-Fârisî— only accepts the accusative status and that al-Mubarrad explicitly agrees with Sîbawayh, in stating that the genitive is the *wadjh*. This is also al-Farrâ's opinion. They allow the personal pronoun to take on the accusative status when the final *nûn* is not deleted, but according to Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad and contrary to al-Farrâ', final *nûn* and personal pronoun cannot occur together.

From the above it appears that al-Mubarrad's views on the government of active participles are in harmony with Sîbawayh's theory on this issue. They both agree on the principal rule that the status of a suffixed personal pronoun following the participle has to be inferred from the status of a substantive noun in similar constructions. Thus, *-ka* following the determined singular participle (*al-dâribuka*) has an accusative status, but when it follows the dual and plural forms (*al-dâribâ/ûka*) it takes on the status of a genitive.

We have seen that al-Akhfash and al-Farrâ', whose opinion is followed by Tha'lab, do not accept this rule and take a different position. However, Sîbawayh's theory is subscribed to by most of the other grammarians mentioned in the survey. Only al-Fârisî formulates a diverging view.

In light of the fact that al-Mubarrad criticized al-Akhfash and agreed with Sîbawayh all along, it is striking that Abû

Hayyân — whose report on the different opinions of the grammarians he mentions is inaccurate and rather confusing — claims to know two different theories of al-Mubarrad on this issue. It is striking, too, that the Egyptian grammarian al-Nahhâs reportedly ascribed to al-Mubarrad some critical remarks to Sibawayh's theory.

#### 4. The governance of the negative particle *lâ*

The negative particle *lâ* is used in Arabic in many ways of which the following are the most common. *Lâ* followed by the imperfect denies the future and indefinite present, as in *lâ yaf'alu dhâlika* "he will not do that, he does not do that", whereas *lâ* plus the jussive renders the meaning of a negative imperative: *lâ yaf'al dhâlika* means "do not do that". *Lâ* is also used to contradict a preceding affirmative, as in *zaydun 'âlimun lâ djâhilun* "Zayd is learned, not ignorant". Finally, when *lâ* is immediately followed by an indefinite object in the accusative without nunation, it denies the existence of that object: *lâ radjula fî al-dâri* means "there is (absolutely) no man in the house". When *lâ* is used in this last manner, the Arab grammarians call it *lâ nâfiyat al-djins* "*lâ* denying the whole genus".

The *lâ nâfiyat al-djins* is the regent of the following noun; *lâ* puts it in the accusative case, in the way *inna* gives a following noun the accusative. However, unlike the noun after *inna*, the noun after *lâ* loses its nunation. *Lâ* plus noun has the position of the topic of a nominal sentence; the comment, if expressed, is indefinite and put in the nominative case; for example *lâ radjula qâ'imun* "there is (absolutely) no man standing".

The interrogative particle *a-* may precede the negative *lâ* to ask a simple question: *a-lâ radjula qâ'imun* "is there no man standing?", but the combination of *a-* plus *lâ* is also used to express a wish. The expression preceded by *a-lâ* having the meaning of a wish (*ma'nâ al-tamannî*) differs from a simple question by not taking a predicate in the nominative: *a-lâ radjula qâ'iman* conveys the meaning "if only there were a man standing". In the next *mas'ala* the difference between these two sentences is discussed.

*Masâ'il* 67 and 68 deal with aspects of the governance of the negative particle *lâ*, especially when it is preceded by the interrogative particle *a-*. Al-Mâzinî expresses disagreement with Sîbawayh in a marginal note to the *Kitâb*. Al-Mubarrad subscribes to al-Mâzinî's point of view in the *Radd*, but appears to distance himself from this view in the *Muqtaḍab*. Although al-Mubarrad, like al-Mâzinî, was initially outspoken in his disagreement with Sîbawayh, in later tradition there is hardly any reference to be found to his discussion of this *mas'ala*. Again we start with an analysis of Sîbawayh's theory on the subject.

Sîbawayh spends a full fourteen pages of his *Kitâb* on the negation with the negative particle *lâ* (I,300/13-314/16). He commences with a very compact overview of the most important rules concerning the negation with *lâ*. He explains that *lâ* governs the accusative like *inna*, but without nunation, because *lâ* together with what is governed by it has the status of one noun (*ism wâhid*; KS I,300/13-15). Sîbawayh emphasizes that *lâ* only operates on indefinite nouns (KS I,300/18; 301/2; 310/17); besides, *lâ* plus noun has the function of a *mubtada'* (KS I,300/16; 301/4). Thus, the negation *lâ* as a *nâfiyat al-djins*, "which denies the genus", governs the accusative without nunation in, for instance, *lâ radjula fî al-dâri* "there is no man in the house". The predicate takes the position of the nominative, analogous to the predicate of *inna*, as in *lâ radjula qâ'imun* "there is no man standing". *Lâ radjula fî al-dâri* is the proper answer to *hal min radjulin fî al-dâri* "is there a man in the house?", whereas the answer to *a-ghulâmun 'indaka am djâriyatun* "is there a boy with you or a girl?" may be formulated as *lâ ghulâmun wa-lâ djâriyatun* "no boy and no girl" with the nominative. In the latter construction, *lâ* does not exert the government of a *nâfiyat al-djins*, because it contains the meaning of *laysa* (KS I,309/20ff; 310/1-5; 311/15; 313/9-10; 314/13). After this introduction, Sîbawayh presents in separate chapters the use of *lâ* in all kinds of constructions.

In the chapter that deals with constructions which do not change under the influence of *lâ*, Sîbawayh states that *lâ* does not have government when it is put before a construction in which another operator is already active (KS I,312/3-6). This is the case in, for instance, *lâ karâmatan* "no honour" or *lâ saqyan* "no rain"; *karâmatan* and *saqyan* already have the accusative case with nunation from a hidden verb: *ukrimuka karâmatan* "I honoured you great honour" and *saqâka allâhu saqyan* "may God give you rain".<sup>42</sup>

In the same chapter, the construction of the negative *lâ* preceded by the interrogative *a-* is discussed. According to Sîbawayh, the rules on the governance of *lâ* do not change under the influence of *a-*. Both *a-lâ ghulâmun* with the nominative (no government of *lâ*) and *a-lâ ghulâma* with accusative (*lâ* governing as a *nâfiyat al-djins*) are correct expressions.

However, when the expression beginning with *a-lâ* implies the meaning of a wish (*ma'nâ al-tamannî*), *lâ* invariably governs the accusative without nunation in the noun that follows it: *a-lâ mâ'a bârida* "if only there were cold water"; the adjective may take nunation, as in *a-lâ mâ'a bâridan* (KS I,314/4-5). Furthermore, the interrogative sentence with a *ma'nâ al-tamannî* is marked by the fact that it does not have a *khavar*, as illustrated by *a-lâ ghulâma afdala minka* "if only there were a boy better than you", contrary to *a-lâ ghulâma afdalu minka* "is there no boy better than you?" (KS I,314/2-5; 15-16).

According to al-Mâzinî, the meaning of a wish, implied by the interrogative *a-* preceding the negative *lâ*, does not affect the rules of the government of *lâ*. Al-Mâzinî is of the opinion that, in spite of the meaning of a wish, the nominative with nunation in *a-lâ djâriyatun* is as correct as the accusative without nunation in *a-lâ ghulâma*. Moreover, according to al-Mâzinî, the *ma'nâ al-tamannî* does not affect the rules for the predicate. Thus, in al-Mâzinî's view, not only *a-lâ ghulâma afdala minka* implies the meaning of "if only there were a boy better than you"; *a-lâ ghulâma afdalu minka* may have that same meaning of a wish (KS I,314/ap.16).<sup>43</sup>

Al-Mubarrad holds the same view and states that the meaning of a wish does not affect the general rules on the use of the negative *lâ*.<sup>44</sup> In other words, he is of the opinion that in constructions which are preceded by the interrogative *a-* and which have the meaning of a wish, both nominative and accusative are allowed. The rules which are applied to constructions without the interrogative *a-* are also applied to those preceded by this particle, they are not confined to the rules of *lâ* as a *nâfiyat al-djins* (ms. *Ibn Wallâd* 169/10-170/6). Al-Mubarrad brings forward as his most important argument the comparison with constructions having the meaning of supplication:

despite its meaning of a wish, the expression *a-lâ mâ'a* still has the position of a noun in the nominative, its predicate being understood. The rules for this construction are the same as before the interrogative *a-* was prefixed, even if this gave it the meaning of a wish. It is comparable with the expression *rahmatu allâhi 'alayhi* "may God have mercy upon him", which follows the declension of *zaydun akhûka* "Zayd is your brother", in spite of its meaning of supplication (*ma'nâ al-du'â*) (ms. *Ibn Wallâd* 170/12-171/3).

Al-Mubarrad explicitly states that the use of the nominative is based on al-Mâzinî's theory (ms. *Ibn Wallâd* 170/2; 171/3).

In the *Muqtaḍab*, we find the rules on the negative *lâ* more or less arranged along the lines of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*. Like Sîbawayh, al-Mubarrad begins with a discussion of the general rules of *lâ* denying a whole category, thus governing the accusative without nunation. He explains that the

deletion of the nunation is due to the fact that *lâ* plus the following noun have the status of one noun (*ism wâhid*) and he tells us under which circumstances *lâ* does not operate and is followed by the nominative (*Muqtaḍab* IV,357-363; also 380-81). In the subsequent chapters he deals with the negative *lâ* in all kinds of compound sentences (*Muqtaḍab* IV,364-379; 387-388). In between we find a discussion of the combination interrogative *a-* plus *lâ* (*Muqtaḍab* IV,382-386).

Al-Mubarrad states that the interrogative particle does not have influence on the general rule, except when the expression has the meaning of a wish. In that case, he says,

according to the theory of Sībawayh, al-Khalīl and others, except al-Māzinī, only the accusative is allowed (*Muqtaḍab* IV,382/15).

According to al-Mubarrad, *lâ* plus the noun it governs as a *nāfiyat al-djins* lose their function of *mubtada'*, i.e., their position of a noun in the nominative — comparable with *inna zaydan fī al-dâri wa-'amrun*, where the nominative of *'amrun* corresponds with the function of *mubtada'* taken by *inna* plus *zaydan* — when the interrogative *a-* gives it the meaning of a wish, because in that case it has to be compared with *layta zaydan fī al-dâri wa-'amran*, where the accusative position of *'amr* does not correspond with the function of *mubtada'*, but with *layta* having the meaning of a wish plus *zaydan* (*Muqtaḍab* IV,383/4-10).

Al-Mubarrad continues, saying that

... According to al-Māzinī, however, it has to be treated in the same manner as before, in spite of the meaning of a wish (*Muqtaḍab* IV,383/11).<sup>45</sup>

He then quotes al-Māzinī's argumentation which is based on a comparison with constructions expressing the meaning of supplication. Although al-Mubarrad does not use the same words, his reflection of al-Māzinī's argumentation is essentially the same he brought forward in his *Radd*. In this respect, it is striking that al-Mubarrad apparently supported al-Māzinī's theory when he criticized Sībawayh in the *Radd*, whereas in the *Muqtaḍab* he clearly distances himself from the same opinion by presenting it as a diverging one from the theory of Sībawayh and the other grammarians.

Very few of the later grammarians elaborate on the subject of *a-lâ* with the meaning of a wish. Al-Zadjjādī (*Djumal* 240/1-10) notes that the negative *lâ* preceded by the interrogative *a-* provides two different meanings, the meaning of wishing (*al-tamannī*) or the meaning of incitement (*al-tahḍīd*). When it contains the former meaning, the negative *lâ* governs the accusative without nunation, as in *a-lâ mā'a ashrahbu* "if only there were some water I could drink"<sup>46</sup> or as in the following poetic line: *a-lâ ṭi'āna*



*wa-lâ fursâna 'âdiyyatin (...)* "If only there were a lancer or cavalryman of the 'Adî tribe (...)". Notice has to be taken of the fact that this line is quoted by Sîbawayh (*KS* I,313/23), but not to illustrate a *ma'nâ tamannin*. In case the expression has the meaning of incitement, al-Zadjdjâdjî continues, nunation is allowed. No reference is made to Sîbawayh's theory, nor to a diverging one.

Al-Sîrâfî (*KS Bûlâq* I,359) does refer to the disagreements between Sîbawayh and al-Mâzinî, summarizing the problem as follows.

When *a-* precedes *lâ* as a mere interrogative, both nominative and accusative are allowed in the word that follows *a-lâ*, just as this was the case before the interrogative *a-* was attached. When *a-lâ* has the meaning of a wish, however, the accusative is obligatory, according to Sîbawayh's theory. Al-Mâzinî holds the view that particles preceding *lâ* do not change the rules to be applied to the surface structure (*al-lafz*) of what follows *lâ*. The sentence which intends to express a wish is exactly the same as the sentence with the meaning of a mere interrogation.

Al-Sîrâfî makes no mention of the fact that al-Mubarrad once subscribed explicitly to al-Mâzinî's diverging opinion.

Ibn al-Anbârî includes in his *Inṣâf* (366-70; nr.53) a discussion of the alleged difference of opinion between Basran and Kufan grammarians on the governance of the negative *lâ*. However, in his explanation of the problem, one does not recognize the argumentation of Sîbawayh or al-Mubarrad as we know it from the *Kitâb* and the *Muqtaḍab*. Besides, Ibn al-Anbârî does not bring forward the use of *lâ* preceded by the interrogative *a-*.

Ibn Ya'îsh (*Sharḥ* VII,48/28-49/4) remarks that the *ma'nâ al-tamannî* is formed by the negative particle *lâ* preceded by the interrogative *a-*, the former governing the indefinite noun, the latter producing the meaning of a wish. What follows has the position of the accusative. Ibn Ya'îsh reports that al-Mubarrad gives *a-lâ* plus noun the position of a nominative '*alâ al-ibtidâ'*'. The difference between Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad appears from the case-ending of a following adjective. One says *a-lâ mâ'a bâridan* with the adjective in the accusative case, because that is its position, according to Sîbawayh's opinion. Following al-Mubarrad in his theory, one gives the adjective the nominative case, saying *a-lâ mâ'a bâridun*. Ibn Ya'îsh apparently did not know that al-Mubarrad reconsidered his opinion on the subject.

Al-Baghdâdî (*Khizâna* IV,69/9-70/13) deals with the *a-lâ ṭi'âna* line, previously brought forward by Sîbawayh and al-Zadjdjâdjî, but in a slightly different version. The *Khizâna* reads *a-lâ ṭi'âna illâ fursâna 'âdiyyatin (...)* and comments as follows. According to Sîbawayh, the interroga-

tive particle does not change the rules of governance over the noun following *lâ* as a *nâfiyat al-djins*. Further on, al-Baghdâdî refers to Ibn Hishâm (quoted from the *Mughnî*), who states that in Sîbawayh's view a sentence with a *ma'nâ tamannin* does not include a predicate. Contrary to Sîbawayh, al-Zadjdjâdjî is of the opinion that the above-mentioned poetic line expresses the meaning of a wish. This is not correct, al-Baghdâdî continues, because the line intends to ridicule. No mention is made of any disagreements on the principal rules to be applied.

Abû Ḥayyân (*Manhadj* 89/11-23) does mention the principal rules and brings up again the diverging theory of al-Mâzinî. He claims that Sîbawayh is of the opinion that *lâ* preceded by *a-* expressing a *ma'nâ tamannin* has government over the following noun the way *inna* exerts government over the following noun, but that the sentence has no predicate.<sup>47</sup> In al-Mâzinî's view, as reported by Abû Ḥayyân, *a-lâ* containing the meaning of a wish exerts the government of *laysa* or *inna*. Subsequently, when *a-lâ* governs like *inna*, what follows it is in surface structure and in function equal to what follows *inna*. The predicate may be shown or deleted. Abû Ḥayyân says that he prefers al-Mâzinî's theory to that of Sîbawayh, because from al-Mâzinî's theory a clearer contrast is shown with the rules on *a-lâ* with the meaning of a wish and *a-lâ* meaning incitement, which agree in meaning, but are subject to different rules. Al-Mubarrad's opinion seems to have disappeared from the record.

The *mas'ala* presented above shows a clear retraction of criticism by al-Mubarrad. He is outspoken in his disagreement with Sîbawayh in the *Radd* and relies on al-Mâzinî in his views. They are both of the opinion that Sîbawayh's distinction between *a-lâ* asking a simple question on the one hand, and *a-lâ* expressing a wish on the other, does not correspond with the way *a-lâ* is used in actual speech. However, we have seen that al-Mubarrad explicitly distances himself from these same views in the *Muqtadab*.

The later grammarians are not very well informed about al-Mubarrad's position. Al-Zadjdjâdjî does not make mention of any disagreement with Sîbawayh. Al-Sîrâfî and Abû Ḥayyân know about al-Mâzinî's criticism of Sîbawayh, but they apparently are not aware of the fact that al-Mubarrad initially subscribed to this view. Ibn Ya'îsh, on the contrary, discusses al-Mubarrad's critical remarks as we know them from the *Radd* — without referring to al-Mâzinî —, but apparently does not know that al-Mubarrad reconsidered his opinion later on.

### 5. The exceptive particle *illâ* in the meaning of *wa-lâkinna*

A multitude of complicated rules make the exceptive sentence one of the most difficult subjects of Arabic grammar. There are several kinds of exceptive sentences, as there are several kinds of exceptive particles. To the subject under discussion in the present *mas'ala*, only two types of exceptive sentences and one of the particles is relevant.

The most important exceptive particle is *illâ* "unless, except, if not".<sup>48</sup> The exceptive particle *illâ* is usually placed after the general term from which the exception is made. The grammatical position of the noun that follows *illâ*, i.e., the exception, defines the nature of the exceptive sentence.

When the proposition containing the general term is negative or implies a negation, for instance beginning with *law* "if", the thing excepted takes the place of the general term as a substitute (*badal/badalan min*). It is therefore dependent on the same regent and put in the same case as the general term, as in *mâ djâ'anî al-qawmu illâ zaydun* "the people did not come to me, except Zayd". In some cases, the exception may be regarded as a description of the general term, thus resembling an adjective (*sifa/wasf*) and therefore to be put in the same case, as in *mâ djâ'anî ahadun illâ zaydun* "no one came to me, except Zayd". When the exception has the same case-ending as the general term, as in the examples just mentioned, the exceptive sentence is called an *istithnâ' muttasil*, a "joined exception".<sup>49</sup>

When the proposition containing the general term is affirmative, the exception always takes on the accusative case-ending, as, for instance, in *djâ'anî al-qawmu illâ zaydan* "the people came to me, except Zayd". Likewise, when the thing excepted belongs to a fundamentally different category from that of the general term, the exception usually takes on the accusative case-ending, as in *mâ djâ'anî ahadun illâ himâran* "no one came to me, except a donkey". A donkey cannot be a substitute or a description of a human being, so in this case, *illâ* takes on the meaning of *wa-lâkinna* ("no one came to me, but the donkey did") and the exception is put in the accusative. When the case-ending of the exception differs from the case-ending of the general term, as when *illâ* incorporates the meaning of *wa-lâkinna*, the exceptive sentence is called an *istithnâ' munqati'* "severed exception".

These are the general rules given by Sībawayh (KS I,315ff) for the construction of exceptions with *illâ* and we shall see in the discussion of the present *mas'ala* that al-Mubarrad's critical remarks do not concern these principal rules. His disagreement with Sībawayh centres on severed exceptions in which the general term and exception belong to different categories, and especially on the identification of these categories.

Al-Mubarrad deals in the *Radd* with the following aspects of exceptive sentences: the particle *illâ* in the meaning of *wa-lâkinna*, the exception as a *wasf* of the general term and the status of *hâshâ*. One of two marginal comments to the *Kitâb* coming from al-Mâzinî corresponds with the first of these, *mas'ala* 69, to which we shall confine our attention. To understand the essence of the disagreement between Sībawayh on the one hand and al-Mâzinî and al-Mubarrad on the other, we start with a brief overview of Sībawayh's theories on *illâ* in the meaning of *wa-lâkinna* as presented in the *Kitâb*.

When the thing excepted is placed after the general term and belongs to a fundamentally different category from that of the general term, the accusative is usually preferred, in accordance with the dialect of the Hîdjâz. In *mâ djâ'anî aḥadun illâ ḥimâran* "no one came to me except a donkey", the donkey can never take the place or be a description of a human being. This means that it can be neither a permutative, nor an adjective; *illâ* takes on the meaning of *wa-lâkinna*, governing the accusative and so we are dealing with a severed exceptive sentence (*istiḥnâ' munqati'*).<sup>50</sup>

According to the dialect of the Banû Tamîm, however, *illâ* and the following noun is interpreted as a permutative (*badal*) even in this type of sentence, the underlying structure of, for instance, *lâ aḥada fîhâ illâ ḥimârun* "there is no one in it, except a donkey", being *laysa fîhâ illâ ḥimârun*. They say that *lâ aḥada* asserts that there is no human being in it. The same holds for the expression *mâ lî 'itâbun illâ al-sayfu* "I do not have reproof except the sword", in which *al-sayf* is used as a *badal* of 'itâb, although they belong to different categories. In the dialect of the Banû Tamîm, these sentences are treated as joined exceptions (*istiḥnâ' muttaṣil*), but Sībawayh considers them to be severed exceptions and prefers the accusative in *ḥimâr* and *al-sayf* (KS I,319/4-320/22). Subsequently, he presents in a separate chapter on sentences in which the exceptive particle can only have the meaning of *wa-lâkinna* several examples from poetry and Qur'ân (KS I,321-22).

A marginal note to the *Kitâb* tells us that al-Mâzinî disagrees with Sībawayh in the latter's interpretation of the exceptive sentences just mention-

ed as severed exceptions. Al-Mâzinî holds the view that, for instance, *lâ ahada fihâ illâ ĥimâr* is a joined exception; therefore, expressing *ĥimâr* with the nominative case- ending is the ordinary way of speech. His argumentation runs as follows. *Lâ ahada* denies a category of creatures in which the donkey is included. The category is designated by *ahad* which refers to human beings only, and as such is put above the other creatures included in the category, as for instance the *ĥimâr*. In the same manner, males are put above females when a category including both is designated. According to al-Mâzinî, *ĥimâr* is a permutative of *ahad*, the latter standing for *al-nâs wa-ghayruhum* "the people and others" (KS I,319/ap.11).

In the *Radd*, al-Mubarrad concerns himself with the examples Sîbawayh presents in the above-mentioned separate chapter on sentences in which the exceptive particle must have the meaning of *wa-lâkinna*. In al-Mubarrad's view, many of these examples are wrongly included in this chapter. In this context he refers to the poetic line *wa-lâ 'ayba fihim ghayra anna suyûfahum bihinna fulûlun* "there is no weakness in them, except that their swords have blunt blades" (KS I,321/11). Al-Mubarrad says that "except that their swords have blunt blades" (the exception) may be regarded as a permutative of "there is no weakness in them" (the general term). In his view, we are dealing with a joined exceptive sentence, so the exception must have the position of a nominative. Al-Mubarrad's interpretation is based on an assumed similarity between this sentence and the expression *mâ djâ'anî ahadun illâ ĥimârûn*, in which he considers the *ĥimâr* to be part of the category of creatures designated by *ahad* (*ahad al-djânûn*). Al-Mubarrad says that many of the examples Sîbawayh presents as severed exceptions, he himself considers to be joined exceptions (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* 175/3-176/3).

From the above it appears that neither al-Mâzinî, nor al-Mubarrad disagrees with Sîbawayh on the principle of a distinction between joined and severed exceptive sentences. Their disagreement lies in establishing when the exception may be regarded as a substitute of the general term, and more specifically, in defining whether the thing excepted belongs to the same category as the general term or to a different one. Is it allowed to include human beings (*ahad*) and donkeys (*ĥimâr*) in one and the same category, and can weaknesses (*'ayb*) be replaced by blunt swords (*suyûf*)? In this respect, al-Mâzinî and al-Mubarrad support their theory by referring to the use of exceptive sentences in the dialect of the Banû Tamîm.

The criteria al-Mubarrad applies in the *Radd* in defining general categories, seem to be different from those used by Sîbawayh. Whatever these criteria might have been, they appear to have been trivial enough for al-Mubarrad to throw them overboard later.

The *Muqtaḍab* contains a chapter on exceptive sentences in which the exception belongs to a category which differs from that of the general term. The first example of this kind of exceptions al-Mubarrad presents is *mā djā'anī aḥadun illā ḥimāran*, which he considers to be a severed exception with the accusative in *ḥimār* because *illā* incorporates the meaning of *wa-lākinna*. Further on al-Mubarrad states that the nominative in this kind of exceptions is permitted according to the dialect of the Banû Tamîm. For interpreting the above-mentioned expression as a joined exception, al-Mubarrad gives two explanations, one being that *mā djā'anī radjulun illā ḥimārun* is like *mā djā'anī illā ḥimārun* with *radjul* explicitly mentioned to assert that no human being came. The other explanation says that *ḥimār* can take the place of *radjul*, because the latter stands for *man djā'anī min al-ridjāl* "whoever of the men came to me", as an exemplification (*tam-thîl*). It is like your *'itâb* and the *sayf*, al-Mubarrad continues, apparently referring to the quotation *mâ lî 'itâbun illâ al-sayf* "I do not have reproof except the sword". Using the accusative, however, is the *wadjh* and the *qiyâs*, al-Mubarrad hastens to add (*Muqtaḍab* IV,412/1-414/6), and this matches exactly Sîbawayh's interpretation, as we have seen above.<sup>51</sup>

In the later grammatical tradition we find an accurate and trustworthy reflection of the ideas on severed exceptive sentences as we know them from Sîbawayh's *Kitâb* and al-Mubarrad's *Muqtaḍab*. Al-Zadjdjâdjî (*Djurnal* 235-36) and Ibn Djinnî (*Luma'* 28/10-17) briefly deal with severed exceptions, saying that they generally take on the accusative, which is the most proper way, but that according to the dialect of the Banû Tamîm, the exception may be treated as a permutative and given the case-ending of the general term. Neither of them mentions diverging theories on the subject, or refers to other grammarians.

Al-Sîrâfî (*Bûlâq* I,364) elaborates on the use of *illâ* by the Banû Tamîm and specifically refers to al-Mâzinî's explanation of this use as follows. The category of human beings and the category of creatures without intellect are mingled. When this mixed category needs a designation, that of human beings has the upperhand, but it may well be substituted by the other category. Thus, in *mā djā'anī aḥadun illā ḥimārun*, the general term *aḥad* designates the mixed category and *ḥimār* as its permutative takes on the nominative from this general term. This is exactly al-Mâzinî's theory as we know it from the marginal notes to the *Kitâb* and from al-Mubarrad's *Radd*. Al-Sîrâfî apparently did not know that al-Mubarrad initially subscribed to this view.

Ibn Ya'îsh (*Sharḥ* II,79/26-81/17) gives us an extensive description of the rules on severed exceptions, which have become familiar by now. He explains the use of the accusative in the dialect of the Ahl al-Hidjâz and the way the Banû Tamîm allow even the exception belonging to a different

category from the general term to be a *badal* of that general term. Ibn Ya'ish does not refer to al-Mâzinî's explanation of the latter; he only mentions Sîbawayh, no other grammarians. He introduces, however, a new element to the theory on severed exceptions. He distinguishes between a severed exception (*istiṭhnâ' munqati'*) in which it is allowed to treat the exception as a *badal* of the general term in the way it is done by the Banû Tamîm on the one hand, and a severed exception which can only take on the accusative, even according to the dialect of the Banû Tamîm, because *illâ* incorporates the meaning of *wa-lâkinna*, on the other hand. The latter type is marked by the fact that the general term must be expressed, as is the case in, for instance, Qur'ân 11:43 *lâ 'âṣima al-yawma min amri allâhi illâ man raḥima* "Today there is no defender from God's command but for him on whom He has mercy",<sup>52</sup> contrary to *lâ fihâ aḥadun illâ ḥimârūn*, in which the general term *aḥadun* may be deleted (*Sharḥ* 81/12-15). The line from *sûra* 11:43 is one of the examples Sîbawayh includes in the separate chapter on exceptions in which *illâ* can only have the meaning of *wa-lâkinna* (KS I,121/1).

With Abû Hayyân (*Manḥadj* 162/28ff), too, we find the familiar theories on severed exceptive sentences. He refers to al-Mâzinî's opinion regarding the mingled categories of human beings and creatures without intellect, but rejects it as being incorrect and superfluous (*Manḥadj* 163/13-15). That al-Mubarrad once followed al-Mâzinî in this theory apparently had no importance at all for the later generations of Arab grammarians.

At the end of this discussion on exceptive sentences, let us briefly return to the *Muqtaḍab* (IV,416/1-3). One of the most interesting examples al-Mubarrad discusses in the context of exceptive sentences is the exception in Qur'ân 11:116 *fa-lawlâ kâna min al-qur'ûni min qablikum ūlû baq'iyatin yanhawnâ 'an al-fasâdi fi al-arḍi illâ qalîlan mimman andjaynâ minhum* "...or if there had been, of the generations before you, men of a remainder forbidding corruption in the earth – except a few of those whom we delivered from them".<sup>53</sup> Sîbawayh included this verse in his disputed chapter on exceptions which can only have the meaning of *wa-lâkinna* (KS I,321/3-4). Al-Mubarrad did not mention this verse explicitly in the *Radd*, where he said that Sîbawayh wrongly included many poetical and Qur'ânic examples in the chapter on exceptive sentences in which *illâ* must have the meaning of *wa-lâkinna* and therefore can only be followed by an accusative. We do not know whether al-Mubarrad considered this specific line to be one of these wrongly included examples. In any case, in the *Muqtaḍab* he expresses the opinion that the verse belongs to the kind of severed exceptive sentences under discussion (i.e., in which the exception belongs to

a category which differs from that of the general term), because *lawlâ* has the meaning of *hallâ* "is not...?" He then continues, saying that the grammarians allow the nominative in this type of expression in the *kalâm*, but that they do not allow it in this particular case, because it would mean a change of the consonantal text of the Qur'ân (the *Muṣḥaf*; *Muqṭadab* IV,416/21-4).<sup>54</sup>

In discussing Qur'ân 11:116, al-Farrâ' (*Ma'ânî* I,167/3-8; II,30/13-14) establishes first that we are dealing with a severed exception (*istithnâ' munqaṭi'*) in which *lawlâ* assumes the status (*manzila*) of *hallâ*. He then continues, saying that in this type of sentence the substantive noun following *illâ* may take the nominative case, based on a *niyyat al-waṣl*, i.e., the intention of going on with speech. By this he means that commencing the sentence with *lawlâ* and not expressing the exception which begins with *illâ* does not render a correct expression. The nominative *illâ qalîlun* is a grammatically acceptable and correct expression, according to al-Farrâ'.

Al-Akhfash (*Ma'ânî* I,105/11-14) holds more or less the same view. *Lawlâ* incorporates the meaning of *hallâ*; the exception is a severed exception in which the excepted noun belongs to a different category from that of the general term; *illâ* takes on the meaning of *wa-lâkinna*; as a result, *illâ qalîlan* has the accusative case. Al-Akhfash, too, says that the nominative may be used in this verse, indicating that it can be an adjective (*ṣifa*; *Ma'ânî* II,626/1-2).

On the basis of this discussion, it seems that with regard to the exception in Qur'ân 11:116, Sībawayh was the first to draw attention, albeit implicitly, to the restriction of changing the *Muṣḥaf*. As we have seen above, al-Mubarrad followed his line of thinking and, moreover, was outspoken about it. In this context, it is striking to find that none of the later grammarians consider the nominative *illâ qalîlun* to be an alternative to the *Muṣḥaf*-text of the Qur'ân. Al-Zadjidjâdj briefly remarks that the exception is a severed exception with *illâ* in the meaning of *wa-lâkinna*. He does not mention any alternatives, nor does he refer to divergent grammatical theories (*Ma'ânî* III,83/4-6). Abû Ḥayyân associates the variant reading with the nominative in *qalîl* to the names of al-Djarmî and, rather surprisingly, to al-Mubarrad (*Manhadj* 170/3). As we have seen above, it is not clear which of the examples Sībawayh included in his separate chapter on *illâ* meaning *wa-lâkinna* al-Mubarrad considered to be wrong examples. However, al-Baghdâdî (*Khizâna* IV,328/12-18) quotes the Egyptian grammarian al-Nahḥâs who apparently was of the opinion that al-Mubarrad rejected *all* examples mentioned by Sībawayh in the disputed chapter.<sup>55</sup> It follows from this that one has to conclude that al-Mubarrad at that time allowed the nominative *illâ qalîlun* in Qur'ân 11:116, against the prescription of an authoritative *Muṣḥaf*, but that the reconsideration of his



criticism of Sībawayh did not make a lasting impression on the Arab grammatical tradition.

We have seen that, again, al-Mubarrad's disagreement with Sībawayh did not concern principal grammatical rules. However, al-Mubarrad seems to have permitted, in his younger years, a change of the official text of the Qur'ān. In his criticism of Sībawayh, he supported his view by referring to the way of speech of the Banū Tamīm. He rejected the rule which was based on the *Mushaf* and on the *kalām* of the Ahl al-Hidjâz. He reportedly rejected a whole chapter of the *Kitâb Sībawayh*. In the *Muqtaḍab*, al-Mubarrad changed his mind; his rules and interpretations correspond, even in detail, with those of Sībawayh.

We have also seen that the grammarians of later generations all accept Sībawayh's restrictions of changing the Qur'ānic text. Only al-Sîrâfî, Abû Hayyân and al-Baghdâdî mention the fact that Sībawayh was criticized for preferring the way of speech of the Ahl al-Hidjâz to the dialect of the Banū Tamīm. Al-Sîrâfî refers in this respect to al-Mâzinî only. That al-Mubarrad initially subscribed to this view was known only to Abû Hayyân and al-Baghdâdî. The latter apparently obtained his information on the authority of al-Naḥḥâs. None of them was aware of the fact that al-Mubarrad retracted his criticism.

## THE RECEPTION OF THE KITÂB SĪBawayh

The aim of this last chapter is to summarize and discuss the results of our study on the reception of the *Kitâb SĪbawayh*. Our investigation centred on two questions: (1) How was SĪbawayh's book received and commented upon by the early Arab grammarians and (2) was there a real distinction between a Basran and a Kufan school of grammar. As we have seen, al-Mubarrad was one of the very few grammarians who wrote a critical commentary on SĪbawayh's book. Later in life, he retracted many of his critical remarks, and that is the reason why we focused all attention on him in our study.

The present chapter consists of three paragraphs. The first provides a description of al-Mubarrad's grammatical position and discusses the status of his *Radd 'alâ Kitâb SĪbawayh*. In the second paragraph, we shall elaborate on al-Mubarrad's role in the reception of SĪbawayh's book. Finally, in the third paragraph, attention is directed to the historical reality of the Basra/Kufa dichotomy.

*The status of al-Mubarrad's Radd 'alâ Kitâb SĪbawayh*

The analyses presented in the previous chapter allow us to conclude that in general al-Mubarrad's criticisms were not directed against aspects of SĪbawayh's method or theoretical framework. The grammatical conceptions and the basic theories brought forward by SĪbawayh, were not subjected to any fundamental criticism, not by al-Mubarrad nor any of the other grammarians. General notions like *taqdîr*, *ibtidâ'*, *hâdhâ tafsîruhu* and *sa'at al-kalâm* seem to have been taken for granted from the very beginning. This does not mean, however, that the critical comments were mere trivialities. The discussion of the exceptive particle *illâ* with the meaning of *wa-lâkinna* (ms. *Ibn Wallâd* no. 69/70), for example, shows that, although no disagreements existed about the general principles, the argumentation behind them and the application of the rules left ample room for serious differences of opinion.

As I have mentioned before, Ibn Djinnî disapproved of al-Mubarrad's critical attitude because he said he had been too nonchalant in his judgements. Additionally, Ibn Djinnî told us that al-Mubarrad had changed his

mind later in life and that he had retracted most of his initial criticism of Sībawayh when he had become older and wiser. There seems to be some truth to Ibn Djinnī's words.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of some of the *masâ'il* discussed in the previous chapter — especially the first one on the conjunction of sentences with different structures — it appears that al-Mubarrad's criticism was mainly due to a misunderstanding of the text of the *Kitâb*. We have seen, too, that he discarded all critical remarks on this subject in the *Muqtaḍab*. Furthermore, his views on the subject as we know them from his later work correspond with those of Sībawayh and are more careful and well-considered.

The collation of al-Mubarrad's ideas from the *Radd* with his views expressed in the *Muqtaḍab* shows a development of his grammatical position; indeed, one can say that he "matured" as a scholar. Al-Mubarrad was not explicit in his retraction of criticism nor did he refer time and again to his initial objections to Sībawayh's theories. In fact, "retraction of a critical remark" in most cases simply meant that al-Mubarrad did not express disagreement with Sībawayh in the *Muqtaḍab*. Only with regard to one of the discussions presented in Chapter Five — on the regency of *a-lâ* with the meaning of a wish (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 67/68) — did he clearly distance himself from his own earlier opinion and from that of al-Mâzinī. And even then he merely contrasts Sībawayh's views with those of al-Mâzinī without taking a stand against the latter.<sup>2</sup>

Though more detailed information on the development of al-Mubarrad's position concerning all the other *masâ'il* is lacking, a safe conclusion on the basis of our study is that al-Mubarrad at a later stage withdrew most of his "juvenile" criticisms of Sībawayh.

The analyses also show that al-Mubarrad's comments differ in both length and nature. The length of his remarks varies from a line and a half to more than one page; on the average most of them are about five or six lines. The relatively long commentary (nearly fifteen lines) on *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 10 is in itself clear and understandable and the theoretical argumentation behind it is well-reasoned. However, although al-Mubarrad's remarks on no. 21, for instance, take up thirteen lines, they only become really clear when seen in light of the marginal notes to the *Kitâb* and in the context of the explanations brought forward in the *Muqtaḍab*. The presentation of the text illustrates that the *Radd* was a commentary on both the *Kitâb Sībawayh* and the marginal notes made by al-Mubarrad's teachers and predecessors.

This last point is confirmed by the manner in which al-Mubarrad makes reference to others. He refers to the opinion of other grammarians with the words *wa-hâdhâ qawl (fulân)* "and this is what so and so says".<sup>3</sup> The analyses of *masâ'il* nos. 11 and 67/68 show that these words do not

merely indicate somebody's opinion; more than once al-Mubarrad gives a nearly literal quotation of the critical remarks made by al-Akhfash or al-Mâzinî as we know them from the marginal notes to the *Kitâb*.

It remains difficult to assess the exact status of al-Mubarrad's *Radd 'alâ Kitâb Sîbawayh*. There is evidence that he wrote down critical comments on the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* and had compiled books in which he expressed objections to Sîbawayh's theories.<sup>4</sup> The *Radd* as we know it from Ibn Wallâd's *Intiṣâr* does not, however, contain all of al-Mubarrad's critical remarks. New criticism which is not found in the *Radd* is given in the *Muqtaḍab*. Perhaps — and I speculate here — what Ibn Wallâd called the *Radd* was actually part of a more extensive and varied commentary on the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*. I have already suggested that al-Tanûkhî's remark about al-Mubarrad having introduced the *Kitâb* in Baghdadian circles might be an indication that al-Mubarrad was the first to use the book during his lectures. If we construe the *Radd* as part of the notes al-Mubarrad had passed on to his pupils while reading the *Kitâb* to them, we are not only able to explain why al-Tanûkhî speaks of about 400 *masâ'il* instead of the 134 we have from Ibn Wallâd. This would also account for the fact that some of al-Mubarrad's critical remarks deal with the marginal notes of others.<sup>5</sup>

### *The reception of Sîbawayh's book*

In Chapter Two, we spoke of the firm consolidation of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* as the Arabic grammar *par excellence* from the time of al-Mubarrad onwards. Inasmuch as al-Mubarrad wrote a critical commentary on the *Kitâb*, which he reportedly withdrew later in life, we had reason to believe that he played an active role in the process that led to the reception of Sîbawayh's book. We assumed that al-Mubarrad, by retracting his criticisms, acknowledged the authority of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* to stress the importance and status of his profession and to emphasize his own Basran identity.

As a consequence of this study, we now know that al-Mubarrad had indeed played a crucial role in the process which made Sîbawayh's book become *the* authoritative source for all later generations of grammarians. However, contrary to our assumption, this was not achieved through al-Mubarrad's retraction of criticism but it was the result of his formulation of criticism. We shall elaborate on this finding in what follows.

Our investigation into the development of al-Mubarrad's grammatical position has shown that he had retracted most of his original criticisms presented in the *Radd*. However, the fact that we additionally found new criticisms of Sîbawayh in the *Muqtaḍab* — al-Mubarrad's most outstanding

work on grammar – indicates that he did not wholeheartedly subscribe to all the ideas and theories of the *Kitâb*.

We have illustrated al-Mubarrad's development as a grammarian by an analysis of five grammatical issues on which he gave his opinion in both the *Radd* and the *Muqtaḍab*. We have already mentioned the fact that it would be necessary to investigate all the *masâ'il* brought forward in the *Radd* – in the same way the five issues presented in the previous chapter are analysed – in order to obtain an accurate and complete picture of al-Mubarrad's grammatical position. And another suggestion for further research is a careful examination of the *Muqtaḍab* and particularly of the agreements and disagreements between Sībawayh and al-Mubarrad expressed in this work, which would be needed to achieve a full understanding of the way al-Mubarrad received the ideas and theories from Sībawayh's book. Yet, the analyses of the five grammatical issues do give us some valuable information about the way al-Mubarrad's ideas influenced the later grammatical tradition, a subject to which we now turn.

That al-Mubarrad was critical of Sībawayh or that he subscribed to the critical comments of other grammarians was not generally known in the later tradition. Some later grammarians were informed about the fact that Sībawayh was criticized, but did not associate these criticisms with the name of al-Mubarrad.<sup>6</sup> Other later grammarians knew about al-Mubarrad's critical remarks but were not aware of the fact that he had eventually reconsidered his opinion.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the later grammatical tradition ascribed critical remarks on the *Kitâb Sībawayh* to al-Mubarrad, even when he did not express any criticism in the *Radd*, the *Kâmil* or the *Muqtaḍab*.<sup>8</sup>

The analyses clearly show that the later grammarians generally accepted Sībawayh's theories even when they presented his views next to, and in contrast with, the criticisms they were subjected to. There are only two exceptions: al-Fârisî once rejects all known theories and develops one of his own and Abû Ḥayyân once explicitly prefers al-Mâzinî's view to that of Sībawayh.<sup>9</sup>

Although the later tradition ascribed criticism of Sībawayh to al-Mubarrad or did not acknowledge the fact that he had retracted his critical notes, we have seen that the *Kitâb* had a firmly established reputation from al-Mubarrad's time onwards. And despite his critical attitude, al-Mubarrad was still the best known transmitter of Sībawayh's book. There were several copies of the *Kitâb* in circulation, but the grammarians coveted al-Mubarrad's copy in particular; they were willing to pay large amounts of money or thought of more cunning ways to obtain a copy which had been authorized by him. This success might have been due to the fact that al-Mubarrad had obtained his copy from his famous teacher

al-Mâzinî. The latter was one of only two grammarians we know to have read the *Kitâb* under al-Akhfash whose version of the book came directly from Sîbawayh. If it is true that al-Mubarrad had indeed innovated grammatical education by introducing Sîbawayh's book in his lectures then this would account for the excellent position he had acquired in the transmission line of the *Kitâb*.<sup>10</sup> At any rate, it is beyond doubt that the process of reception and commentary on the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* evolved around al-Mubarrad.

This conclusion is in line with the findings of Humbert (1992). In her study on the extant manuscripts of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*, Humbert concludes that practically all versions which still exist go back to al-Mubarrad's edition of the book itself and its marginal comments. Al-Mubarrad's edition became the "Vulgate" version of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*.<sup>11</sup>

In view of the fact that al-Mubarrad's reconsideration of his critical remarks hardly made any impression on the later grammatical tradition, it is most probable that he had played an active role in the reception of Sîbawayh's book by expressing his criticism and, however contradictory it may seem, not by retracting it. This idea is corroborated by Ibn Wallâd's remarks in the introduction of the *Intiṣâr* (see p. 46). Al-Mubarrad had directed the grammarians' attention to the obscure and difficult passages of Sîbawayh's text. He identified misunderstandings, made questions explicit and put forward alternative theories and explanations. In so doing, he opened the way to a better understanding of Sîbawayh's ideas and to the subsequent recognition of his book.

#### *Establishing a reputation: Basra and Kufa revisited.*

In closing, we return once more to the discussion on the historical reality of the Basra/Kufa dichotomy. We have seen that the Arab tradition made a distinction between a Basran and a Kufan school of grammar. We have established that both grammarians and biographers commenced to make reference to Basrans and Kufans as two distinct groups from the time of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab onwards. In general, they simply made use of a geographical denotation: *ahl al-Basra/al-Baṣriyyûna* and *ahl al-Kûfa/al-Kûfiyyûna* in order to indicate a distinction between two "schools", though sometimes the term *madhâhib* was used as well. However, we have to bear in mind that although the meaning of *madhhab* gradually changed from a personal approach to an entire group's approach, it had not become a technical term for "school" according to our definition, i.e., a definition including both methodological and social aspects.

The growing number of references to the distinction between two schools coincides with the consolidation of Sîbawayh's book as the Arabic

grammar *par excellence*. Biographers referred to those who had studied and transmitted the *Kitâb* and who had created an unbroken chain of grammarians as the Basran school of grammar with a glorious past and a long tradition firmly based on the *Kitâb SĪbawayh*. Simultaneously, they associated the Kufans with a fierce anti-SĪbawayh reaction and a reluctance to transmit the *Kitâb*.

As we saw in Chapter Two, several theories have been espoused by modern writers with regard to the historical reality of this Basra/Kufa dichotomy. Some writers adhere to the notion of the historical reality of the schools while others adopt the opposite position. On the basis of the present study, these theories have to be reconsidered.

Though there were differences of opinion between SĪbawayh and al-Farrâ', we have seen that their views often are in harmony. Moreover, we have identified many disagreements between SĪbawayh and al-Mubarrad, who were nevertheless both regarded as belonging to one and the same alleged Basran school. Ideas that differ from the so-called Basran grammatical system did not come solely from Kufans; many divergent theories were ascribed to and, as a matter of fact, formulated by grammarians who were considered to be Basrans. The identification of a clear distinction between a Basran and a Kufan school of grammar on the basis of disagreements between SĪbawayh and al-Farrâ' unjustifiably disregards not only the agreements between these two grammarians, but the discrepancy between many of the ideas of SĪbawayh, al-Mubarrad, and other early Basran grammarians as well. A resumption of Baalbaki's investigation of the *masâ'il ikhtilâfiyya* as compiled by Ibn al-Anbârî — if carried out with special attention to al-Mubarrad's grammatical position and to the way other grammarians have dealt with his different opinions — could prove to be beneficial in shedding more light on the real bearings of the early Basran and Kufan grammarians.<sup>12</sup>

At the end of Chapter One, we suggested to include in any definition of "school" both methodological and social aspects. The findings of our research do not support the belief that there was a distinction in methodology between two "schools" of grammar at least not before the late third/ninth or the beginning of the fourth/tenth century. This corroborates Owens (1988.8-11; 1990.203ff), who points out that it was only with Ibn al-Sarrâdj's *Uṣûl fī al-naḥw* that a new era of grammatical studies had commenced.

However, the fact that al-Mubarrad was clearly influenced by his teachers and predecessors meant that he was part of a tradition. We have seen that he supported the views of earlier grammarians in a great many of his critical notes to the *Kitâb SĪbawayh*. Moreover, there is a clear correlation between al-Mubarrad's decision to maintain or retract his criti-

cism on the one hand and the opinion of his teachers on the other. Al-Mubarrad relied on Sībawayh and referred to his own teachers. He scarcely mentioned al-Farrā' or other Kufan grammarians – not when they agreed nor when they disagreed.<sup>13</sup> So, the assumption – which was based on Talmon's (1985) consideration of the projection-theory in light of the origins of Islamic juridical schools – that al-Mubarrad wrote a *ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn* to identify himself as a Basran scholar with an important tradition to lean on, seems to be justifiable, albeit with some refinement.

It was apparently fashionable in scholarly activities at the time to refer to one's own teachers and disregard representatives from other academic lineages.<sup>14</sup> There were two aspects that made the establishment of one's genealogy important: (1) The organization of society and (2) the way of transmitting knowledge.

For centuries Arab society had been arranged according to a tribal organization. This system had drastically changed by the Islamic conquests and by large-scale urbanization. Although it had lost – for a great part – its importance as a safeguard for life and property, thinking along lines of kinship remained a characteristic of the mentality. The identification of an individual with a group was the basis of the kinship system.

The second aspect concerns the practice of scholarship, which was primarily based on oral tradition. Only information transmitted by way of personal contact was considered to be completely reliable.<sup>15</sup> Thus, in scholarly circles the pinpointing of authorities was very important. The Islamic sciences, notably *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, heavily depended upon the identification of authorities; the care with which these authorities were quoted certified the quality of scholarly work and legitimized it (Rosenthal 1947.41). Arabic grammar as an important auxiliary to the Islamic sciences followed this method.

Biographical works were written in the service of the Islamic sciences. In order to organize the chaos of names, Arab historiographers and biographers manifested a growing tendency to classify and categorize their information before transmitting it. They identified the individual scholar with a group and thus classified him according to a genealogical or geographical background. The above-mentioned quotation of Abū al-Ṭayyib (*Marātib* 2) clearly shows the implementation of this "categorization tendency".<sup>16</sup>

The discrepancy between the evidence from the early grammatical sources – Sībawayh and al-Farrā' and their contemporaries do not seem to have been representatives of two competing schools – together with the information from biographical sources – the ardent rivalries of the early grammarians – stems from this categorization-principle. The fact that the historiography of the Arab grammarians does not correspond



with “historical reality” is not necessarily due to deliberate falsification; the categories of Basra and Kufa were introduced for the sake of an orderly arrangement of the information about grammarians and their different *madhâhib*.

Al-Mubarrad applied the principle of categorization when he wrote his grammatical biography. As far as we know, his *ṭabaqât* only included Basran grammarians. His need to identify himself with a group of grammarians and to trace back the lineage of this group to an authoritative source, was embedded in the remnants of the old kinship system and the importance of presenting reliable authorities in scholarly tradition. It was probably the combination of the grammarian and the biographer in one person that made al-Mubarrad the key-figure in the development of the Arab grammatical tradition.

*Notes to Chapter One*

1According to Humbert (1988), "*kitâb*" was used at that time along with, for instance, *kurrâsa* and *daftar*. Although *kitâb* was not yet a well defined technical term, it designated a material unity. Humbert suggests to consider a *kitâb* as "un ensemble de cahiers dont le nombre est fixe à l'intérieur d'un même manuscrit".

According to Troupeau's index to the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* (1976), Sîbawayh used the word *kitâb* twice to refer to his entire work and one time as a reference to one of its chapters. *Kurrâsa*, translated by Troupeau as "cahier", is used one time by Sîbawayh. There is no entry for the word *daftar*.

2I owe this point to Dr. H. Motzki.

3Versteegh (1983.146) agrees with Talmon: "...there is no distinction between a theoretically oriented group of specialists, on the one hand, and Sîbawayh's amateur colleagues, on the other". Owens (1988.265) is not explicit on this matter: "What is indisputable, however, is that Sîbawayh is the greatest of the Arabic linguists".

4Carter argues the other way around and suggests that "the *Kitâb* is an attempt to vindicate the grammatical views of one man against the criticism of his contemporaries" (1968.290).

5The difference between Sîbawayh and his colleagues, which finds expression in the way Sîbawayh criticizes them, is touched upon by Talmon (1982.28-30) and further elaborated on by Versteegh (1983.146-150).

6According to Carter (1968.50), Sîbawayh was too early for the 'Uthmânic codex. In Carter's view, Sîbawayh only used the Qur'anic text, "official or otherwise", as an illustration for his grammatical rules. However, this runs counter to Beck's observations. In Beck's view, Sîbawayh sometimes did not even take variant readings into consideration because he felt it was his duty to stick to the official text (Beck 1945.364; see also Baalbaki 1985). Versteegh (1983.149-50) agrees with Beck. He points out that at the end of the first/seventh century, at least in Kufa, the 'Uthmânic codex surpassed all other versions in influence and importance, and was used by Sîbawayh's contemporaries al-Kisâ'i (d. 183/799) and al-Farrâ' (d. 207/822).

7The hierarchical differentiation is clearly illustrated by, for instance, *Kitâb Sîbawayh* I,28, where Sîbawayh himself follows the 'Uthmânic

text and states that *wa-banû Tamîm yarfa'ûnahâ illâ man 'arafa kayfa hiya fî al-mushaf*. This is extensively treated by Beck (1945.359-361). Another example of Sîbawayh's evaluation of the *Mushaf*, regarding the exceptive sentence in Qur'ân 11:116, will be presented in Chapter Five.

- 8 Dévényi (1990.101; 105-106) illustrates the difference between *tafsîr*-related grammatical works and Sîbawayh's systematic grammar on the basis of a comparative study of Sîbawayh and al-Farrâ'.
- 9 Talmon (1984.698b) refers to a more positive interpretation of the evaluation of Sîbawayh's *Kitâb*: "James A. Bellamy (1968) demonstrated how a scribal error in the text of the *al-Kitâb* had become a stumbling block for early readers of that book, actually as early as the days of Sîbawaihi's disciple, al-Ahfas. ... Not too long after Sîbawaihi a rather complex interpretation ... was developed by critical readers of the *al-Kitâb* who were dissatisfied with its given text".
- 10 Fleisch (1961.26-33) would agree with Weil and presumably that is the reason why he prefers to speak of "deux centres d'études grammaticales", rather than of "écoles". According to both Weil (1913.75) and Fleisch (1961.32), the fact that al-Mubarrad wrote the first grammatical *tabaqât* on the Basran grammarians accounts for the establishment of the Basran school.
- 11 Talmon (1985a.225) refers to this passage as follows: "Following Schacht's characterization of the division of schools of Jurisprudence during the second century, he [i.e., Carter] hypothesized that the early grammatical schools differed from each other not according to independent doctrinal features but rather on the basis of a geographical division". In dealing with the historical reality of the Basra/Kufa dichotomy, Carter, however, only takes methodological aspects into consideration, as we shall see later on.
- 12 Only information passed on through personal contact, authorized by the author himself, was considered to be reliable. The authorization was called *idjâza*, "permission" (Pederson 1984.31ff). Note that "oral tradition" – transmitting knowledge through personal contact – does not mean that no information was put down in writing. Oral and written sources complemented each other (Schoeler 1985.224-26).
- 13 Flügel (1862) has introduced the term "gemischte Schule" for Baghdad in the orientalist tradition. According to Troupeau (1962), both the mixture of the two methods – the word he uses to translate *madhhab* – and the coming into existence of the "split" between the two were the result of the fact that the grammarians confronted each other in the capital Baghdad.

- 14The divergent Kufan vocabulary was considered by Weil to be have been uniquely that of al-Farrâ'.
- 15Further confirmation for this point of view has been given elsewhere (Bernards 1990) on the basis of a study on the theories of the Basran grammarian al-Djarmî (d. 225/839).
- 16Owens arrives at these conclusions from a very extensive study on the subject of the schools. In his *Early Arabic grammatical theory* (1990) he presents substantial grammatical arguments to support his view. In this paragraph, I confine myself to a summarized account of his ideas. See also Owens 1991.

### *Notes to Chapter Two*

- 1The development of Arab grammar has been compared with that of Islamic jurisprudence (Carter 1973b; Talmon 1985b). In studies on juridical schools, the term *madhhab* is commonly translated as "school". That is the reason why in the second paragraph special attention is paid to the way the term *madhhab* is used in allusion to the schools of grammar.
- 2Ibn al-Anbârî, *Inṣâf* I,5. One could only get admission to the Nizâmiyya on the condition of being a Shâfi'ite; all professors were ardent defenders of this version of Sunnite doctrine (Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha*: intr. 'Âmir, xiv-xvi).
- 3Sezgin (1984.23-24) lists ten *ikhtilâf*-works which all originated before Ibn al-Anbârî's time.
- 4The *Munṣif* is especially important because it contains the text of al-Mâzinî's (d. 248/862) *Taṣrîf*. Lexicographical works, like Tha'lab (291/904), *Kitâb al-faṣîḥ* and al-Zâhid (known as Ghulâm Tha'lab, d.345/956), *Fâ'it al-faṣîḥ*, have not been included in this list; I have incidentally used these works.
- 5According to Sezgin 1984.188 the author is called Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Shaybân al-Yazidî; he calls the transmitter 'Alî b. Muḥammad al-Kâtib. Sezgin states that the year of the author's death is probably 250/864. It is true that everything we know of these two men is what is included in the *risâla*: Abû Hâmid was a student of Abû Sa'îd al-Darîr (according to al-Ta'ân, he died in 276/889 and according to Sezgin 1984.262 in 282/895), Ibn al-A'râbî (d. 231/845; according to tradition a Kufan; he had contact with Tha'lab), al-Aṣma'î (d. 216/831), Abû 'Ubayda (d. 210/825) and Abû 'Amr al-Shaybânî (d. ca. 205/820). 'Abdallâh b. Tâhir (d. 230/844) invited his teacher Abû Sa'îd to Khurasan. From these data (except the proposed ones for Abû Sa'îd's death)

- it appears that he lived sometime between 190/805 and 280/893. (For Abū Sa'īd see: al-Qiftī, *Inbāh* I,76 and al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* I,305).
- 6The studies of, among others, Dayf (1968), Yāsīn (1980), Fawwāl Bābtī (1983), and Makhzūmī (1986) are clearly anchored in the "classical" Arab tradition mentioned above.
- 7Cf. introduction to al-Sīrāfī, *Sharḥ* 7. Sezgin, however, 1984.82 does not recognize it as such.
- 8Sezgin 1984.58-63 enumerates a total list of seventy six-commentaries. See also al-Hadīthī 1967.151ff.
- 9We do not know anything about this work except what al-Qiftī (*Inbāh* IV,190) tells us: that it is useful (*lā ba's bi-fawā'idihā*). Muḥammad b. Abī Zur'a al-Bāhilī was one of the colleagues of al-Māzinī. Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* I,104 also makes mention of his *Nukat 'alā Kitāb Sībawayh*.
- 10Abū Ḥamid al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 280/893) mentions Sībawayh only once, on the authority of his teacher Abū Sa'īd al-Darīr, who claims that al-Kisā'ī (d. 183/799) was more accurate in handling oral information than Sībawayh (*Makhtūṭ* 141). This corroborates the anti Sībawayh reaction from the Kufan side, which appears from the later sources. We will discuss this later. Abū Tāhir al-Muqri' (d. 349/960) does not mention Sībawayh at all in his *Akhbār*.
- 11For the summary to be directly presented, I have mainly used the following references to Sībawayh and the *Kitāb*: Abū al-Tayyib, *Marātib* 42, 65, 67, 68, 69, 78, 85, 87-88; al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār* 34, 40, 43-44, 48-50, 72, 88, 93, 101, 107-109; al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 52, 66-72, 73, 93, 100, 110, 114, 119, 121, 131, 142, 145-46, 153, 169, 185, 187, 217, 281; al-Marzūbānī, *Nūr al-qabas* 5, 58, 95-97, 174, 220, 225, 228, 279, 287, 288, 339; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 76-77; al-Tanūkhī, *Tārīkh* 19, 22, 30, 33, 46, 52, 54, 59, 68, 73, 76, 79, 82, 85, 110, 123, 139, 154; al-Khatīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād* XII,195-99; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha* 28, 35-39, 46, 49, 56, 77, 79, 84, 85, 90, 107, 112, 116, 122, 126, 132, 150, 175, 202, 231, 238, 240.
- 12We have to wait till the seventh/thirteenth century for the story to turn up again in al-Qiftī's *Inbāh* (II,347).
- 13Contrary to Versteegh 1977.193 who says he died in 182/798. This seems improbable, since al-Sidjistānī was reportedly one of al-Mubarrad's teachers (see Chapter Three).
- 14Thus called after the subject of the grammatical discussion, dealing with the expression: "I thought that the scorpion stung more severely than the wasp, and behold, the one is like the other". The question is whether *fa-idhā huwa hiya* or *fa-idhā huwa iyyāhā* is the correct way to express "the one is like the other".
- 15The story is usually told by Tha'lab 'an Salama 'an al-Farrā'; sometimes it is told 'an al-Mubarrad or 'an al-Māzinī 'an al-Akhfash. See also al-

- Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 288; al-Tanûkhî, *Târîkh* 101-105; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Insâf* II,702ff; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 76-77; al-Zadjdjâdjî, *Madjâlis* 9-10. Also: al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* II,230; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* II,358; Yâqût, *Irshâd* III,134; Blau (1963) and Talmon (1986 and 1988).
- 16He was 'Alî b. Ḥasan al-Aḥmar, a friend of al-Kisâ'î (cf. Bernards 1989.25), and not, as Talmon (1986) believes, the well-known grammarian Khalaf al-Aḥmar (d. 180/796). Ibn al-Anbârî, *Insâf* II,703 also identifies him as Khalaf al-Aḥmar. (For more on Khalaf al-Aḥmar see now Talmon 1990.) According to the most elaborate version of the story, al-Farrâ' and al-Aḥmar also discussed some grammatical problems behaving rather disrespectfully towards Sîbawayh.
- 17According to Talmon (1986), not revealing the identity of the Bedouin judges was disadvantageous for the Kufans. Ibn al-Anbârî (*Nuzha* 38; *Insâf* II,703) emphasizes the fact that the judges came from both Basran and Kufan sides.
- 18For instance, the editions of al-Zadjdjâdj's *Ma'ânî* and Ibn al-Sarrâdj's *Usûl* do not include indices.
- 19Al-Zadjdjâdj, *Mâ yansarif*: 69 X Sîbawayh, 37 X al-Khalîl, 10 X al-Mubarrad; 4 X al-Akhfash, 3 X al-Mâzinî; al-Zadjdjâdjî, *Idâh*: 24 X Sîbawayh, 8 X al-Mubarrad, 6 X al-Akhfash; *Djumal*: 16 X Sîbawayh, 4 X al-Farrâ'; Ibn Shuqayr, *Muḥallâ*: 1 X Sîbawayh, 4 X al-Khalîl, 1 X al-Farrâ'; al-Fârîsî, *Baṣriyyât*: ca. 60 X Sîbawayh, 30 X al-Akhfash, 45 X Tha'lab, 35 X al-Mubarrad, 27 X al-Mâzinî, 25 X al-Farrâ', 29 X al-Kisâ'î.
- 20Al-Mubarrad's points of disagreement are to be found in Ibn Wallâd's *Intisâr*, al-Akhfash's criticism is included in the marginal notes of the Derenbourg edition of the *Kitâb*. Chapters Four and Five will deal extensively with these critical remarks.
- 21The term *madrasa* for "grammatical school" is introduced for the first time in 1955 by al-Makhzûmî; this usage is perhaps a calque for school/école. *Madhhab* is used, for instance, by Baalbaki (1981) and Talmon (1986).
- 22In juridical studies *madhhab* is translated as "school", albeit, as Makdisi (1981.1) states, for lack of a better term. For the time being, I have translated the term as "approach", on the basis of Lane's definition.
- 23Al-Zubaydî has separate chapters on grammarians and *lughawiyyûn* from Basra, Kufa, Egypt, Kairouan and Spain.
- 24This is the first time that such a rivalry is brought forward in the sources. The story goes back to al-Sidjîstânî and is about a governor from Kufa who expressed his pride of the Kufan scholars who, in his view, were superior to the Basrans regarding general knowledge and cultural

- formation. The story is also told by al-Khatîb, *Târîkh Baghdâd* XI, 409-10. Versteegh 1977.110 also refers to rivalry between the two cities.
- 25 *Nûr al-qabas* 319 does have the following: *wa-huwa* (i.e., Ibn al-Sikkî) *kâna 'âliman bi-naḥw al-Kûfiyyîn*.
- 26 According to Owens 1988.268, the references are in the first two volumes of the *Muqtaḍab*. He thinks this has something to do with al-Mubarrad establishing his identity as a Basran. After having done that "he does not have to continue using the term and prefers instead more useful ones for scholarly purposes ...". References in the *Muqtaḍab* are hard to be found and the editions do not correspond: according to Owens references to *al-Baṣriyyûn* and *naḥw Baṣrî* appear in the *Muqtaḍab* I, 101, 102, 107, 110, 200; II, 71, 72, 81, 85; I have not found any of them in my edition. Al-Mubarrad's *Kâmil*, though not a grammatical work, does include grammatical features and discussions. Through the index many references to *ahl al-Baṣra* and *ahl al-Kûfa* are to be found, but all of them clearly refer to geographical location and origin.
- 27 *Madhhab akthar al-naḥwiyyîn* (*Muqtaḍab* I, 278/6) and *madhhab Abi 'Uthmân al-Mâzinî* (*Muqtaḍab* III, 117/2) were the two instances I encountered. The latter reference is used by al-Mubarrad as the opposite of *qawl al-naḥwiyyîn al-mutaqaddimîn* (*Muqtaḍab* III, 123/5-6 also II, 181-82 where he uses the same expression to refer to Sîbawayh's position). Al-Mubarrad regularly refers to *al-naḥwiyyûn*; Baalbaki (1981.9-13) argues that when al-Mubarrad speaks of "a *qawm* of the grammarians" he is referring to the Kufans.
- 28 His *Mâ dhakarahu al-Kûfiyyûn min al-idghâm* is a refutation of Kufan criticism of Sîbawayh. References to his *Sharḥ kitâb Sîbawayh* are found incidentally.
- 29 See Versteegh 1977.108-109, who brings this forward as the most important argument for the existence of two different grammatical traditions. Another reference of al-Zadjidjâdjî: *Djurnal* 142 "*bâb al-faṣl wa-yusammîhi al-Kûfiyyûna al-'imâd*".
- 30 The term *madhhab* is not used by Ibn Kaysân, *Muwaffaqî*, nor by Lughda, *Muqaddima*, or al-Zâhid, *Fâ'it*. The latter refers to the Basrans once (*Fâ'it*, 358).

### Notes to Chapter Three

- 1 The biographical information to follow is found in Abû al-Tayyib, *Marâtib* 7; 21; 23; 53; 61; 64; 66; 83; al-Sîrâfi, *Akhbâr* 50; 53; 61; 89; 96-109; al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 101-10; 116; 143; 153; 171; 215; 217; 220; al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 324-33; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 52; 69; 77; 85-87; 92;

- 111; al-Tanûkhî, *Târîkh* 19; 45-47; 51; 53-65; 191; al-Khatîb, *Târîkh Baghdâd* III,380-87; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 132-38; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I,269-71; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* III,241-53; Sezgin 1984.78-80; Flügel 1862.92; *EI2*, VII,279b-282a. See also al-Mas'ûdî, *Murâdj* III,426; 481; IV,7; 8; 9; 10; 86ff. and 'Udayma's introduction to the *Muqṭadab* 15-28. For the different explanations on why he was called al-Mubarrad/al-Mubarrid see *EI2* VII,279b; cf. Bohas/Guillaume 1984.8.
- 2That al-Mubarrad was yet unknown may be derived from the fact that both the caliph and his secretary addressed him as *yâ Baṣrî*. The discussion was about Qur'ân 6:109: *annahâ idhâ qâ'at* according to al-Mutawakkil and *innahâ idhâ qâ'at* according to al-Faṭḥ b. Khâqân. Al-Mubarrad stated that most people read *annahâ*, thus agreeing with the caliph. Afterwards, however, he told al-Faṭḥ b. Khâqân that all those people were wrong: *innahâ* was the correct reading.
- 3The Great Mosque, built by al-Mansûr and completely rebuilt by Hârûn al-Rashîd, later enlarged by al-Mu'taḍid, was the most important one of Baghdad. During the entire 'Abbâsîd period this mosque was used for Friday prayers. The mosque was situated in the traditionalist quarter of Baghdad, *Bâb al-Baṣra* (Le Strange 1924.33-37; Makdisi 1981.15-16).
- 4According to al-Tanûkhî (*Târîkh* 55), who speaks on the authority of Abû al-Qâsim al-Daḡîqî, the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* was discarded and not used in Baghdad until al-Mubarrad came to the city. This report may be an indication that al-Mubarrad introduced the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* as the Arabic grammar *par excellence* or that he was the first to use it in his lectures. Note also that al-Tanûkhî (*Târîkh* 59) is the first biographer to take notice of al-Mubarrad's *Radd* and his retraction of criticisms).
- 5According to Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Târîkhî al-Baghdâdî (d. ca. 330/942) – who was called the “historian” because of his interest in gathering facts and data – al-Mubarrad was as avacious as Tha'lab.
- 6An indication of this is, for instance, the frequency with which al-Mubarrad's name occurs in the *Kitâb al-Aghânî* in connection with both pre-Islamic and Islamic poetry. On al-Mubarrad as an *adîb*, see Dannecki 1982.
- 7Mention of al-Mubarrad's wife is made in al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* III,251 'an Ibn al-Nadîm; about his son see al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât* 114; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* III,224 and his son-in-law, Muḥammad b. Dja'far: al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* III,81; *al-Aghânî* IV,53; XVIII,232.
- 8Cf. Sezgin 1984.79-80 who lists thirteen works attributed to al-Mubarrad.



- 9Abû al-Tayyib, *Marâtib* 75-77; al-Sîrâfî, *Akhhbâr* 72-74; al-Zubaydî, *Tabaqât* 74-75; al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 214-15; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 84; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 72-73; al-Khatîb, *Târikh Baghdâd* IX,313; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 90-92; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* 8-9; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* II,80-83; Sezgin 1984.72-73; Flügel 1862.81; see also Bernards 1990.35-36.
- 10Abû al-Tayyib, *Marâtib* 77-80; al-Sîrâfî, *Akhhbâr* 74-85; al-Zubaydî, *Tabaqât*, 87-93; al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 220-23; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 84-85; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 65-71; al-Khatîb, *Târikh Baghdâd* VI,93; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 110-115; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I,463-66; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* I,281-91; Sezgin 1984.75-76; Flügel 1862.83-84. See also al-'Ubaydî (1969).
- 11Al-Mâzinî was originally al-Djarmî's friend but it is said that al-Djarmî was the brighter of the two. He explained to al-Mâzinî what he did not understand and al-Djarmî became his teacher. This is why most of the sources mention al-Mâzinî as al-Djarmî's pupil and not as his friend. According to al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I,464, they had disagreements; he also says that al-Mâzinî never had lessons from al-Akhfash.
- 12Preserved and edited in Ibn Djinnî's (d. 393/1002) commentary, the *Munsif*.
- 13Abû al-Tayyib, *Marâtib* 75-76; al-Sîrâfî, *Akhhbâr* 89-93; al-Zubaydî, *Tabaqât*, 97-99; al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 228-30; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 86; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 75-79; al-Khatîb, *Târikh Baghdâd* XII,138; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 122-23; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* II,27; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* II,367-74.
- 14With whom he discussed the different *madhâhib* of al-Akfash, Sîbawayh, al-Farrâ' and al-Kisâ'î (al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* 371-72). According to Tha'lab, this was in the year 230/844.
- 15The *Zandj* were black slaves who were employed in the salt mines near Basra. Their revolt lasted for fourteen years; see Hitti 1970.467-68; Kennedy 1986.179-81.
- 16Abû al-Tayyib, *Marâtib* 80-82; al-Sîrâfî, *Akhhbâr* 93-96; al-Zubaydî, *Tabaqât*, 94-96; al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 225-28; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 86-87; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 73-74; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 116-17; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I,606-7; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* II,58-64; Sezgin 1984.76-77.
- 17As a Qur'ân scholar and *lughawî* al-Sidjistânî is said to have been very much opposed to the Kufans. In his view, the Kufans were not trustworthy in their *riwâya* and *tafsîr*. See Abû al-Tayyib, *Marâtib* 74; 90; also 102, where he opposes the *ahl al-Baghdâd*.
- 18Some of the information on al-Sidjistânî is told on the authority of al-Mubarrad. Al-Sidjistânî was al-Mubarrad's teacher only according to al-Khatîb, *Târikh Baghdâd* III,381 and Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 132.

- 19Abû al-Ṭayyib, *Marâtib* 15; al-Sîrâfî, *Akhhbâr* 87; al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 83 (no information); al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 215; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 89; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 107; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* II,251; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* III,10; Flügel 1862.95.
- 20Abû al-Ṭayyib, *Marâtib* 75; al-Sîrâfî, *Akhhbâr* 85-87; al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 99; al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 215; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 85; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 80-82; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 107; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* II,61; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* II,126; Flügel 1862.82.
- 21Al-Sîrâfî, *Akhhbâr* 108; al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 110; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 89; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 50-51; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I,104 (who says that Abû Ya'lâ was born in 257/870); al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* IV,190; Sezgin 1984.77.
- 22Abû al-Ṭayyib, *Marâtib* 83; al-Sîrâfî, *Akhhbâr* 108; al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 111-12; al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 342; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 90-91; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 38-40; al-Khatîb, *Târikh Baghdâd* VI,89-93; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 147-48; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I,411-13; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* I,194-201; Sezgin 1984.81-82; Flügel 1862.98-99.
- 23Sezgin's (1984.81) remarks on al-Zadjdjâdj are rather contradictory: "... Er vertrat überwiegend die Ansichten der Basrenser, jedoch gelang es ihm, eine Annäherung der beiden rivalisierenden Schulen aneinander herbeizuführen. Somit wurde er zum eigentlichen Begründer der Bagdader Schule. ... Sowohl seine uns erhaltenen Werke, als auch Hinweise der Quellen zeigen uns daß er in seinen grammatischen Ansichten und vor allem bei Begründungen häufig von Sibawayh und anderen Grammatikern abwich".
- 24According to Ibn al-Nadîm (*Fihrist* 111), Ibn Hâ'ik was of Jewish origin, a member of the *ahl al-Hîra*; he was called a *ghulâm* of Tha'lab, to whom he remained loyal. He was acquainted with al-Mubarrad. See also al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât* 151-52, who does not mention Ibn Hâ'ik's Jewish origin, and Sezgin 1984.142.
- 25Al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 109-10; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 55; al-Khatîb, *Târikh Baghdâd* III,381; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 137. Al-Zadjdjâdj's *Mâ yansarif wa-mâ lâ yansarif* is the oldest commentary on a part of the *Kitâb* which still exists (see p. 15).
- 26On the doubts about the date of Ibn Kaysân's death see Owens 1990.10; 180 who prefers the earlier date.
- 27Al-Sîrâfî, *Akhhbâr* 108; al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 153; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 120; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 51-52; al-Khatîb, *Târikh Baghdâd* I,335; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 143; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I,18-19; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* III,57-59; Sezgin 1984.158-60.
- 28According to al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 51 he was more of a Kufan than a Basran. The sources tell us that the Kufan grammarian Abû Bakr al-Anbârî (d. 328/939) was of the opinion that Ibn Kaysân understood

- neither Basran nor Kufan theories, whereas Abû Bakr b. Mudjâhid (d. 324/936) considered him to be a better grammarian than al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab. Ibn Mudjâhid was a Qur'ân scholar who was the first to collect the seven canonical readings (Sezgin 1984.164; Hitti 1970.123).
- 29Abû al-Ṭayyib, *Marâtib* 83; al-Sirâfî, *Akhhbâr* 108; al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 112-14; al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 342; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 92-93; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 40-44; al-Khatîb, *Târikh Baghdâd* V, 319-20; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 150; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I, 109-10; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* III, 145-49; Sezgin 1984.83-85.
- 30Central to Owens 1990: "... Sarrâj marks a watershed in Arabic grammatical theory in that it is his organizational systematization in his *al-Uṣūl fî l-Nahw*, ... which effectively serves as the model for all subsequent pedagogical grammars ..." (1990.9).
- 31Al-Sirâfî, *Akhhbâr* 108; al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 114; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 89; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 49; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I, 175-77; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* III, 189-90; Sezgin 1984.86-87; Flügel 1862.96-97.
- 32It is narrated, for instance, that Mabramân had once hired a porter to bring him home on a dinner-tray which the servant had to carry on his head (al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* III, 189-90).
- 33Al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 116; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 93-95; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 46; al-Khatîb, *Târikh Baghdâd* IX, 428; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 171-73; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* II, 36 (Ibn Durustawayh); al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* II, 113-14; Sezgin 1984.96-98 (Ibn Durustawayh).
- 34Al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât* 154; al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 344-45; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 121; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 156-58; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I, 428-30; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* I, 211-17; Sezgin 1984.144-45; Flügel 1862.213-15. Contrary to what his name seems to suggest, he did not come from Persia. According to al-Zubaydî, he was called Niftawayh because of his ugliness and the colour of his skin (*nift* "pustule"; *nift/naft* "kind of oil"); the Persian suffix *-wayh* he earned by his inclination towards Sîbawayh. See also Tha'âlibî, *Latâ'if* 63-64).
- 35Al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 215; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I, 301; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* I, 68-69; Sezgin 1984.205.
- 36Al-Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât*, 217; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I, 259; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* III, 224-25; Sezgin 1984.205-206. See also 'Umar 1990.239.
- 37Talmon 1985a.234 points out that the biographical information about Wallâd b. Muhammad is apparently incorrect. Talmon makes reference of Abbott 1972.35 who "grants" this Wallâd 101 years, on the basis of his relations with al-Khalîl (d. 175/791) and the traditional date of his own death (263/877)".
- 38According to the sources, Abû 'Alî al-Dînawarî was married to Muhammad b. Wallâd's mother. Either Ibn Wallâd's mother and

- Tha'lab's daughter are one and the same woman or al-Dînawarî had more than one wife.
- 39According to al-Qiftî (*Inbâh* 224) Muḥammad b. Wallâd had "stolen" the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* from al-Mubarrad by bribing al-Mubarrad's son. The latter gave him parts of the book to copy for a *dirham* a piece. When Muḥammad had completed his copy in this way, he went to al-Mubarrad to get it authorized which al-Mubarrad refused to do. See also Humbert 1988.
- 40Al-Zadjdjâdjî mentions two discussions with Ibn Kaysân (*Madjâlis* 104, 167), one with al-Mâzinî (*Madjâlis* 112) and one with al-Zadjdjâdj (*Madjâlis* 125), besides those with Tha'lab. There is no mention of al-Mubarrad in the *Madjâlis* of Tha'lab. Al-Suyûtî's *Ashbâh*, which includes *madjâlis*-reports, does not add any new information. See also note 60.
- 41Abû al-Tayyib, *Marâtib* 95-96; al-Zubaydî, *Tabaqât*, 141-50; al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 334-37; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 110-11; al-Tanûkhî, *Târikh* 181-82; al-Khatîb, *Târikh Baghdâd* V, 204-12; Ibn al-Anbârî, *Nuzha* 139-41; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* I, 396-98; al-Qiftî, *Inbâh* I, 173-86; Sezgin 1984.14-42; Flügel 1862.164-68.
- 42This explanation is given by Abû 'Alî al-Dînawarî (d. 289/902), son-in-law of Tha'lab. He tells us that Tha'lab, unlike al-Mubarrad, had the unpretentious character of a teacher.
- 43Zadjdjâdjî, *Madjâlis* 84-85; 86-87; 91; 94-97; 98-99; 253-54; 265. Some of these stories are also told by the biographers but they do not add anything new. The discussion of p. 86-87 is repeated by al-Suyûtî (*Ashbâh* III, 44-46), on the authority of al-Zubaydî from his *Tabaqât*. He tells us that in this matter al-Mubarrad was right but kept silent because he realized how ignorant his interlocutors were. However, I could not find this addition in Zubaydî's *Tabaqât*; the story is told on p. 146, but ends where al-Zadjdjâdjî's version ends. The way the sources often present the opinions of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab next to each other gives the impression that the two scholars had many more discussions than recorded. But I have not found any other actual meetings, except those which are mentioned by al-Zadjdjâdjî.
- 44It is not clear where the discussion reported by al-Zadjdjâdjî (*Madjâlis* 265) was held; p. 253-54 mentions disagreements between al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab, but it was apparently not a personal discussion.
- 45According to the sources, they sometimes met on the street, but no details are given of these meetings.
- 46'Abdallâh's father, Tâhir b. al-Husayn, was appointed governor of Khurasan by the caliph al-Ma'mûn in 206/821. The Tâhirids were of

Arab origin of the Khuzâ'î tribe; the family had been settled in Khurasan since Ummayyad times (Kennedy 1986.150;155).

47According to al-Marzubânî, *Nûr al-qabas* 334, Tha'lab was the teacher of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallâh's sons. I could not find this confirmed anywhere else. At any rate, they apparently did have frequent contact.

48After the death of al-Fath b. Khâqân, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallâh b. Tâhir sent for al-Mubarrad, who wrote a poem of praise on Muḥammad's brother, 'Ubaydallâh (Zubaydî, *Ṭabaqât* 104-105).

49It is striking, too, that during their discussions, al-Mubarrad apparently relied on Sîbawayh's theories, whereas Tha'lab took recourse to the works of al-Kisâ'î and al-Farrâ'. We have to depend on the grammatical content of the discussions in order to decide whether they fundamentally disagreed with each other. However, this is beyond the scope of this study.

50Pederson 1984.26: "If the teacher was a regular one, he might well have a famulus (*mustamlî*), who would sit close by him; this was his most intimate pupil, who acted as an intermediary between him and the audience. A famulus was of course a particularly faithful transcriber of all his teacher's works". See also Juynboll in *EI2* VII,725b-726a.

51Nicholson 1969.344; De Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikân, III,31.

52*EI2* II,837b; Sourdél 1959-60.I,282-83; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 169-70; also Pederson 1984.121.

53Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 235; *EI2* I,1289a; Nicholson 1969.130; 324.

54*EI2* suppl.16a; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 216-17.

55*EI2* III,878b; Pellat 1953.167-68; Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* 234-35.

56*EI2* III,880b; al-Khatîb, *Târikh* V,144-48. He specialized in variant readings of the Qur'ân and used his influence to convince the authorities to order that the readings of Ibn Mas'ûd, Ubayy b. Ka'b and 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib should be used.

57*EI2*, suppl.; al-Khatîb, *Târikh* VI,284-90; Yâqût, *Irshâd* VI,129-40; al-Suyûtî, *Bughya* 193. He was a jurist of the Mâlikite school, ardently opposed to new developments. He specialized in Qur'ân and *Ḥadîth*.

58Mabramân, one of al-Mubarrad's pupils, and the old Basran poet 'Abd al-Samad b. Ghaylân were also Basran contacts of al-Mubarrad.

59Also called *'ulûm al-'aql* "sciences of the intellect" (see below).

60The *ṭalab al-'ilm* was less in vogue among grammarians than it was among scholars of other fields. However, we have to keep in mind that al-Mubarrad was an acknowledged *adîb*; moreover, just one glance at the *Madjâlîs* of al-Zadjjâdjî shows that al-Mubarrad had, even for a grammarian, exceptionally few contacts, compared to, for example, Tha'lab (al-Riyâshî, Muḥammad b. Sallâm, Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb,

- Muhammad b. Sa'dân, Ibn al-A'râbî, Muhammad b. 'Abdallâh b. Tâhîr, al-Mâzinî, al-Zadjjâdj, Muhammad b. Qâdim, Ibn Kaysân).
- 61For general information on the Mu'tazila and the *Mihna* see Patton 1897 and Watt 1973.
- 62Makdisi 1981.15-17: "Anyone of a controversial character ... had to have the naqib's *guarantee of safe conduct* ... to perform a teaching function in the Mosque". He illustrates this with the case of the Mu'tazilite grammarian Qutrub, who sought the protection of the caliph al-Ma'mûn before teaching in the Mosque of al-Manşûr.
- 63The end of the inquisition sparked off the beginning of the Islamic schools of law to change from geographical to personal schools. Although the crystallization of the four schools of law is from a later date, Makdisi dates the beginning of the change from geographical to personal schools with Ibn Hanbal's (d. 241/855) heroic survival of the inquisition (seventh/thirteenth century; Makdisi 1981.1-9). The comparison between the development of the schools of law and the putative grammatical schools of Basra and Kufa has been made by Talmon (1985b). Carter's (1973b) comparison of grammar and law revolves on theoretical content rather than on social development. See Chapter One.
- 64On this dichotomy of knowledge see Makdisi 1981.77-80.
- 65Versteegh 1987.148: Grammar is "*ma'qûl 'an manqûl*, d.h. eine rationale Bearbeitung des überlieferten Materials". It is generally assumed that the real impact of the classical sciences on grammar, notably the influence of logic, appeared around the beginning of the fourth/tenth century (Versteegh 1977; Makdisi 1981.79; Bohas 1990.8-14).
- 66Versteegh 1989.290: "It was even held by some that without grammar there could be no Islamic sciences".

#### *Notes to Chapter Four*

- 1Ibn 'Âshûr (1965), too, believes that al-Mubarrad's critical remarks concern mere trivialities, otherwise, he argues, Ibn Wallâd would have had more difficulties in refuting his argumentations. Like Flügel, Ibn 'Âshûr had not seen the *Radd* and did not know the *Muqtaḍab* either.
- 2Al-Djanâbî's (1977) information on the *Radd* is based on 'Uḍayma's *Introduction*. Both al-Djanâbî and 'Umar (1990) direct their attention to Ibn Wallâd rather than to al-Mubarrad.
- 3'Uḍayma includes in the first set the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 22, 40, 53, 63, 70 and 132, of which all but one deals with syntactic issues. I have not been able to identify the seventh issue. The second set consists of the

nos. 51, 59, 60, 91, 97, 110 and 118, of which the last four belong to the category of morpho-phonological issues.

4‘Uḍayma counts five more points in the *Kāmil*, which al-Mubarrad did not withdraw (*Introduction* 98). He does not refer to page numbers, so I do not know to which points this remark refers. References to *masā’il* from the *Radd* in the *Kāmil* which I was able to track down are included in the notes to Appendix One.

5Especially the references to volume I are difficult to trace. The index corresponds with an edition which starts renumbering at the beginning of the text of the *Muqtaḍab* following the *Introduction*, whereas my edition numbers consecutively.

6According to Sezgin (1984.207), there is another manuscript of the *In-tiṣār* in Baghdad (*Mathaf* 1352), dating from 1336/1918.

7See *ms. Ibn Wallād* 85/13; 113/4 (part seven), 139/3 (part nine), 142/13 (part ten), 154/7 (parts twelve and thirteen), 194/5 (part twenty-one) and 279/6 (where mention is made of *kurrāsa* thirty-six).

8As ‘Uḍayma (*Introduction* 96) suggests; cf. Humbert 1988.

9The division is based on Bohas *et alii* (1990): morpho-phonology deals with phonological processes, defines the structures of words and describes the variations within these structures; syntax covers the rest (case and mood markers, dependency structures, syntactic position). In the *Radd* strictly phonetical problems are not dealt with.

10Appendix One also includes additional information concerning other grammarians mentioned by al-Mubarrad as well as information from the *Muqtaḍab*, the *Kāmil*, al-Sîrāfi’s marginal notes in the *Bûlâq* edition of the *Kitâb* and, where appropriate, from other works. In Appendix Two both al-Mubarrad’s position from the *ms. Ibn Wallād* and his position based on the passages of the *Muqtaḍab* are presented.

11Ibn Wallād reacts separately to the nos. 7 and 8. Concerning no. 8, he declares al-Mubarrad to be right (*ms. Ibn Wallād* 21/2). ‘Umar 1990.244 speaks also of 134 cases, of which in one case Ibn Wallād sides with al-Mubarrad.

12See *ms. Ibn Wallād* no. 122, where al-Mubarrad’s commentary also appears to be directed at a marginal note. Here, however, it is not clear whether he is reacting against al-Akhfash or against Sîbawayh.

13Al-Mubarrad deviates from the arrangement of the *Kitâb* only once, concerning *ms. Ibn Wallād* number 37. For some reason, he suddenly jumps back from chapter 87 to 73.

14Humbert (1992.127-31) notices that al-Mubarrad’s copy of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh* was an enormous success, although it was not the only copy current at the time. The quotation from Ibn Wallād corroborates the

fact that there were indeed several other copies in circulation. See also Chapter Six.

- 15 Especially from her (unpublished) *Thèse de doctorat*, 1992, in which she discusses thoroughly and elaborately the history of the various manuscripts and editions of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*.
- 16 All relevant passages of the *Muqtaḍab* which I was able to find and which give information on al-Mubarrad's position vis-à-vis the grammatical issues discussed, have been listed in the last column of Appendix Two.
- 17 See *ms. Ibn Wallâd* 98/1, where al-Mubarrad says: "We have already explained the theory behind this in another book (*kitâb*)" and 151/1: "This is already explained in another booklet (*daftar*)".
- 18 Uḍayma tells us on more than one occasion that if Ibn Wallâd had known the *Muqtaḍab*, he would have been able to refer to many other instances of al-Mubarrad's retraction of criticism (*Muqtaḍab* I,352/nt.1; IV,220-21/nt.1; IV,408/nt.1).
- 19 Also note Ibn Djinnî's reproach that al-Mubarrad only gave very concise argumentation to support his critical remarks.
- 20 In *ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 8 and 22 al-Mubarrad reacts against al-Akhfash; in no. 32 he only says that al-Djarmî takes a different point of view and in no. 114 his critical remark is against al-Aṣma'î.
- 21 Note that the number of references to other grammarians does not correspond with the number of discussions in which the references are given: in 6 cases al-Mubarrad refers to the opinion of two grammarians.
- 22 *Ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 63; al-Mubarrad does not mention al-Mâzinî in *Muqtaḍab* IV,260, where he deals with the same subject.
- 23 *Ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 9, where al-Mubarrad considers Sîbawayh's poetic examples not appropriate at all.
- 24 They agree with each other on *ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 2, 10, 11, 17, 50, 73, which are all syntactic problems, and 109 and 113, which are morpho-phonological ones. In the case of nos. 8, 22, 38, 81, 89 (syntax) and 95 (morpho-phonology) al-Mubarrad disagrees with al-Akhfash. Note that in the case of nos. 81 and 95, al-Mubarrad's opinion is the same as al-Djarmî's. In no. 8 al-Mubarrad's criticism is directed against a marginal note from al-Akhfash, not against the text of Sîbawayh, as I have already mentioned above.
- 25 Al-Mubarrad reacts against al-Aṣma'î in *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 114. Al-Farrâ' is cited in favour of al-Mubarrad's interpretation of a poetry line. I do not know what al-Mubarrad's position towards these and the other grammarians is in the *Muqtaḍab*, except that with regard to *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 1 he disagrees explicitly with al-Djarmî (whom he does



not mention in the *Radd* when discussing this *mas'ala*) in *Muqtaḍab* II,151/10 and 152/3.

26Excluded are those *masā'il* in which their views do not correspond. This exclusion is legitimate unless one holds the view that originality lies in pinpointing the question, rather than in the actual formulation of an idea about the question.

27In sum, *ms. Ibn Wallād* nos. 8, 9, 22, 38, 63, 89, 95 and 114 may not be taken into consideration because in these he disagrees with his predecessors.

28His remarks are gathered from the margin of the *Bûlâq* edition of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*. From al-Sîrâfî's *Sharḥ* only two volumes have been published until now, covering his commentary over the first thirty pages of the *Kitâb*.

29Notice has to be taken of the fact that al-Akhfash's opinion brought forward in the marginal note to *KS* I,74 does not correspond with that of al-Mubarrad. Note also that al-Mubarrad's opinion with regard to *ms. Ibn Wallād* no. 122 is not clear. Therefore, these *masā'il* are not included in this survey, although they are in the list of overlapping items.

3037 *masā'il* in which he mentions the opinion of others plus 11 in which he does not; note that he disagrees with al-Akhfash on no. 95, but agrees with al-Djarmî without saying so.

31On syntax al-Mubarrad's opinion coincides with that of al-Mâzinî 17 times, with al-Akhfash 6 times, al-Djarmî 4, al-Asma'î 3, al-Ziyâdî 1 and al-Farrâ' 1. On morpho-phonological issues his opinion coincides with that of al-Mâzinî 11 times, al-Akhfash 6, al-Djarmî 4 and Abû Zayd 1.

32In the case of *ms. Ibn Wallād* nos. 21, 22, 39, and 74, al-Mubarrad still agrees with Sîbawayh in the *Muqtaḍab*.

33In 21 cases, which amounts to 35.6%, al-Mubarrad expresses criticism of Sîbawayh, the remaining 38 references, adding up to 64.4%, are in agreement with his own opinion (see Appendix Four).

34See, for example, *Muqtaḍab* II,283/9 and III,200/1,8, where he disagrees with al-Akhfash and agrees with Sîbawayh and III,73/1, where he disagrees with both. Al-Mubarrad disagrees also explicitly with al-Akhfash in *Muqtaḍab* II,354/11 and in III,156/13 (corresponding with the *ms. Ibn Wallād* nos. 81 and 95). However, see also II,289/3 and III,252/3, where he explicitly agrees with al-Akhfash and disagrees with Sîbawayh (corresponding with the *ms. Ibn Wallād* nos. 109 and 39 respectively).

*Notes to Chapter Five*

1Abû Dja'far Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Nahhâs was a colleague of Ahmad b. Wallâd. Sezgin (1984.207) says that al-Nahhâs studied under al-Mubarrad, but we have seen that according to the biographical information on al-Mubarrad, he was not reckoned to be one of his pupils.

2For a grammatical analysis of the difference between nominal and verbal sentences, see Ayoub and Bohas (1981).

3"The part that makes the sentence complete" is Levin's general translation of the Arabic *mabnîyy* 'alâ. See for an elaborate discussion of the use of this term, Levin 1985.

4Al-Sîrâfî's explanation is as follows: the choice between the nominative or accusative in *zayd* depends on the sentence (*djumla*) with which the conjunction is made. The second sentence may be connected with either '*amrun laqîtuhu* or *laqîtuhu*, both complete sentences. In the first case, *zayd* assumes the nominative corresponding with '*amrun* and in the second case *zayd* takes on the accusative corresponding with *hu* in *laqîtuhu* (KS Bûlâq I,47).

5In verbal sentences like *zaydan ðarabtuhu*, a verb identical to that which occurs in the visible structure of the sentence, is hidden at the beginning of the sentence, giving the following abstract representation (or underlying structure): *ðarabtu zaydan ðarabtuhu* (Ayoub and Bohas 1981.35-36). This hidden verb at the beginning of the sentence is designated by the term *hâdhâ tafsîruhu* "paraphrase, paraphrastic verb"; this kind of underlying structures is treated by Peled 1990.

6Sîbawayh says: "The answer is *zaydun ra'aytuhu* except when one answers *zaydan ra'aytuhu* with the accusative in commencement position/at the beginning of the sentence".

7See for an analysis of the term *min sababihi*, which Sîbawayh uses here to express the connection between the function of '*abdullâh* and *akhûhu*, Carter 1968.258-59; 1972.488; 1985b. See also Owens 1990.174-75 (*ishtighâl*).

8Al-Mubarrad says that the sentence '*amran kallamtuhu* has no position, *lâ mawðî' lahâ* which is short for *lâ mawðî' min al-i'râb*. The principle of sentences with and without such a *mawðî'* is explained by Ibn Madâ', *Radd* 116. He uses the notions *al-djumla al-kubrâ* (the *djumla ismiyya*, consisting of a *mubtada'* and a *khavar*, like *zaydun laqîtuhu*), which has no *mawðî' min al-i'râb*, and *al-djumla al-ṣuḡhrâ* (the *djumla fi'liyya*, such as *laqîtuhu*), which does have a *mawðî' min al-i'râb*, namely the nominative of the *khavar* of *zayd* in *zaydun muntaliqun*. See Gully 1991.178-82; also note 4.

- 9The note says literally: ...*li-anna anta yanbaghi an yartafi'a bi-fi'lin idh kâna lahu fi'lun fi âkhir al-kalâm*.... In my view, al-Akhfash intends to say that since there is only a verb at the end of the sentence, there has to be a deleted paraphrastic verb which puts *anta* in the nominative and *zayd* in the accusative.
- 10There seems to be no disagreement between Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad about the different structures of the two sentences. See, for instance, *Muqtaḍab* IV,128/18, where al-Mubarrad analyzes '*abdullâh ḍarabtuhu*' (just like '*abdullâh qâma*') as a *mubtada'*/*khabar* construction with the nominative in '*abdullâh bi-al-ibtidâ'*', and II,74/3; also 298/12, where he states that in *zaydan ḍarabtuhu* the accusative of the object (*maf'ûl*) comes from a deleted paraphrastic verb, the sentence having the underlying structure *ḍarabtu zaydan ḍarabtuhu*. See also *Muqtaḍab* II,60/7-8, where al-Mubarrad states that when *hu* in *mâ akaltahu* has been left out, *mâ* has the function of the accusative because it is the object of a verbal sentence; he compares it with *ayyahuṁ ḍarabta* and *zaydan ḍarabta*. Al-Mubarrad's point of view is transmitted by al-Zadjjâdjî, *Îdâh* 136-37. The construction *zaydan ḍarabtuhu* is discussed by Ibn al-Anbârî, *Inṣâf* 82-83 (no. 12) in terms of a disagreement between the Basrans and Kufans. See, however, Baalbaki (1981.16) who considers Ibn al-Anbârî to be inaccurate in his presentation of this discussion.
- 11For a discussion of the conjunction in *inna zaydan muntaliquṁ wa-'amrun/'amran* see al-Zadjjâdjî, *Djurnal* 54/13ff; Ibn Ya'îsh, *Sharḥ* VIII,67ff and al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* X,294/8ff.
- 12Much information on interrogative sentences (*istifhâm*) was found in *Muqtaḍab* III,286-308, especially on constructions with *am* and *aw*. However, none of it is relevant to this specific *mas'ala*.
- 13For the obligatory use of *anta*, especially to avoid ambiguity in meaning, see *Muqtaḍab* III,117; 263ff (*anta zaydun ḍaribuhu anta*) and IV,105 (*\*kâna zaydun anta khayrun minhu*).
- 14Al-Fârisî reports this on the authority of al-Mâzinî, saying *qâla Abû 'Uthmân [al-Mâzinî] kâna al-Akhfash lâ yudjîzu*.
- 15See also *Basriyyât* 894, where mention is made of al-Djarmî's opinion on *ḍarabtu zaydan wa-'amran/'amrun ḍarabtuhu*. Al-Djarmî explicitly agrees with Sîbawayh.
- 16Of allowing the nominative, Ibn Ya'îsh says *illâ annahu mardjûh* "except that it is *mardjûh*". Lane translates "outweighed or preponderated", according to Dozy, it is "erroné, l'opposé de *râdjih*".
- 17There is no mention, either, of any disagreement between Sîbawayh and the other grammarians on the notions *bi-al-ibtidâ'*, *hâdhâ tafsîruhu*, *min sababihi* and *'alâ kalâmihi*.

- 18The note reads literally: *qâla Abû al-'Abbâs lam ya'rîf Abû 'Umar mâ ḥakâ al-Akhfash wa-huwa 'indahu wa-'inda djamî' aṣḥâbinâ khat'*. It is not clear whom al-Mubarrad had in mind when he referred to Abû 'Umar in this context. He might have meant al-Djarmî. According to al-Zamakhsharî (*Mufaṣṣal* 101-102), this line was incorporated in some of the versions of the *Kitâb*, but in his view, Sîbawayh cannot be held responsible for this. Al-Baghdâdî (*Khizâna* IV,415-16) remarks on the authority of al-Sirâfî, that the line is an addition of al-Akhfash. In the Derenbourg and Bûlâq editions of the *Kitâb*, the line is not included in the main text.
- 19In ordinary speech this sentence would be *saraqta al-laylata ahla al-dâri*, in which *al-layla* is put in the accusative by the verb, although it is not a direct object in the meaning of the sentence; it is a noun of time (*ẓarf*). The handling of two objects in the way thus described is a process based on what Sîbawayh calls *sa'at al-kalâm* "extension of speech" (*KS* I,75/1-9). He mentions several reasons for applying *sa'a*. In the case of the illustration from Qur'ân 34:33 *bal makru al-layli wa-al-nahâri* "Nay, but devising night and day" the *sa'at al-kalâm* is applied because of *istikhfâf* "alleviation" (*KS* I,75/8). Brevity is also a reason to apply *sa'a* and so is *istighnâ* "dispensability". The concept of *sa'a* or *itisâ'* is treated extensively by Versteegh (1990).
- 20See *KS*, I,252ff for more details about separation between *djâr* and *madjrûr*, including the same *'ulâlata etcetera*-line.
- 21In the *Kâmil* (II,142; III,217-18), al-Mubarrad only discusses the first possibility: the second noun is a mere repetition of the first, inserted (*aḡhama*) between the two parts of the genitive construction for emphasis (*tawkîdan*). The term *aḡhama* which also appears in the *Muqtaḍab* (IV,227/9) is not used by Sîbawayh in this context.
- 22Ibn Wallâd objects to al-Mubarrad's remarks on this subject, claiming that the latter allows separation between the two parts of a genitive construction not only in poetry, but in ordinary speech as well. 'Udayma rightly calls Ibn Wallâd "prejudiced" in his reaction against al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* IV,228/nt.1).
- 23First, al-Farrâ' says that the incorrect reading of the *zadjdja* line is accepted by the *nahwiyyû ahl al-ḥidjâz* (*Ma'âni*, I,358/4), which he later explicates by saying that it is the reading of the *nahwiyyû ahl al-madîna* (II,81/11). On the grammatical school of Medina, see Talmon 1985a.
- 24Tha'lab uses the term *i'taraḍa* "to obstruct or block" instead of the more commonly known *faṣl* to indicate the separation (*Madjâlis* I,125/10).

- 25The insertion is called *iqhâm/muqham*, which Wright interprets as “arbitrarily inserted” (II,90D). See also note 21.
- 26Al-Mubarrad, too, uses the expression ‘*alâ na’t*’ in the context of this discussion. See *Kâmil* III,217/13.
- 27See al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* IV,420/15ff. He presents the most important aspects of the discussion with reference to the *zadjdja* line (IV,415-20); he mentions al-Akhfash, Ibn Djinnî and Ibn al-Anbârî, among others, but does not make reference to al-Mubarrad. See also Baalbaki (1981.21); however, he is of the opinion that al-Mubarrad’s explanation of the ‘*ulâlata aw budâhata* and *bayna dhirâ’ay wa-djabhati*’ lines reveals a rejection of separation between the genitive and its operator, thus drawing the partially wrong conclusion that “it seems that Ibn al-Anbârî inaccurately formulates the Basran view with only Mubarrad in mind, and ignores Sîbawayhi and even the later Basrans”.
- 28The article has the position of the nunation (*tanwîn*) which, too, prevents the noun from entering into a genitive construction. The construction *dâribun Zaydan* (with nunation instead of the article) is called by Carter (1972) the *tanwîn-nashb* construction.
- 29The final *nûn* of the dual and plural is not to be mistaken for the *nûn* of nunation which can be replaced by the article. Unlike the *tanwîn*, the ending *ni/na* occurs together with the article and can be left out without causing a change of meaning (KS I,78/8).
- 30As in *al-hâfizû ‘awrata al-‘ashîrati* “those who remembered the faultiness of the clan”, which Sîbawayh explains as follows: the final *nûn* is elided, not because of the participle’s entering in a genitive construction or because of the replacement of the *nûn* by a noun (in both cases the noun would have the genitive case-ending), but it is left out in the way it is elided from *alladhayni* and *alladhîna* in running speech (KS I,78/15-16).
- 31Sîbawayh mentions an exception to this rule: those who say *al-hâfizû ‘awrata al-‘ashîrati* consider *-ka* in *al-dâribû/âka* to have the status of the accusative. However, even those who hold this view have to admit that in *hum dâribûka* the personal pronoun *-ka* can only be in the status of the genitive because when both the article and the final *nûn* are deleted, the participle cannot govern an accusative (KS I,79/2-5).
- 32Sîbawayh says about the examples from poetry *al-âmirûnahu* and *muhtadîrûnahu*, which seemingly prove the opposite, that they are considered to be fabricated (*maşnû’*; KS I,79/11).
- 33It is not clear from whom the note comes. Apparently, al-Akhfash’s opinion is transmitted by al-Mâzinî and al-Ziyâdî (KS I,79/ap.14).

- 34Except according to the theory of those who say *al-hâfizû 'awrata al-'ashîrati*. Due to Ibn Wallâd's rather obscure formulation in this case it is not clear whether this addition is his own or al-Mubarrad's.
- 35The reason being that the final *nûn* is *badalan min* the combination of the nunation and the vocalization in the singular (*al-tanwîn wa-al-ḥaraka fî al-wâhid*; *Muqtaḍab* IV,144/16).
- 36Exception to this is the *al-hâfizû 'awrata al-'ashîrati* line, in which the *nûn* is left out in the way it happens with *allâdhîna* in running speech (*Muqtaḍab* IV,145/7-10).
- 37Likewise, in *hâdhâ al-mâmu bî* the personal pronoun *-î* has the status of the genitive (*Muqtaḍab* I,398/5-6). The *nûn* of the *-nî* form of the personal pronoun, as in *ḍarabanî*, is a *zâ'ida* which connects verb and *muḍmar*. The verb needs such a connection, because of its incapability to accept the *kasr* (*Muqtaḍab* I,383/14-15; I,398/7-8). See also *Kâmil* I,364, where al-Mubarrad explains that nunation and suffixed personal pronoun do not go together. Like the article, the personal pronoun alternates with nunation, as in *hâdhâ ḍâribî* and *hâdhâ ḍâribuka*, not *hâdhâ ḍâribunî* in comparison with *hâdhâ ḍâribun zaydan*. According to Sîbawayh, *-î* in *al-ḍâribî* has sometimes the position of the accusative (equivalent to the poetic license *layfî*), instead of the genitive position; see *KS* I,338/17-339/2; 339/18-20.
- 38Al-Farrâ' discusses the subject of this *mas'ala* in the context of his interpretation of Qur'ân 22:35 *wa-al-muqîmî al-ṣalâti/al-ṣalâta* (*Ma'ânî* II,225-26).
- 39The reason for this is the fact that a construction with genitive (*idâfa*) is stronger than one with accusative (*Ma'ânî* II,226/9-10).
- 40The dual and plural forms, on the other hand, still have their final *nûn*, even when they are preceded by the article; this final *nûn* can be replaced by an *idâfa*.
- 41When discussing Qur'ân 22:35 (*wa-al-muqîmî al-ṣalât*; see note 38) in his *I'râb al-Qur'ân*, al-Nahhâs refers to Sîbawayh and Tha'lab, but does not mention al-Mubarrad (*I'râb* III,98/12-13).
- 42*Karâmatan* and *saqyan* are, in this case, a substitute for the verb (*badalan min al-fî'l*), which does not change either when negated by *lâ*: *lâ ukrimuka*; also: *lâ salâmun 'alayhi* and *lâ sallama allâhu 'alayhi* (*KS* I,312/4-5, 8-9, 11-12, 15; see also Wright II,74/A).
- 43Note that al-Mâzinî's commentary is directed not only against Sîbawayh's theory concerning the negative *lâ*, but also to linguistic usage: in his view, both accusative and nominative are correct, whereas Sîbawayh only allows the accusative. The same holds for al-Mubarrad (see below).

44Al-Mubarrad reacts against another aspect of Sībawayh's theory on the negative *lā*, namely about the necessity of repeating *lā* in coordinative sentences, as *lā radjula wa-lā imra'ata* "no man and no woman" (no. 66 of the inventory *ms. Ibn Wallād* 166-169; in *Muqtaḍab* IV,380-81, 387-88, also 359, no explicit criticism).

45The *ma'nā al-tamannī* does not affect the rules; *yakūn al-lafẓ 'alā mā kāna 'alayhi wa-in dakhallahu khilāf ma'nāhu*, i.e., although the meaning changes, the surface structure (*al-lafẓ*) does not (*Muqtaḍab* IV,383/11-12).

46Note the apocopate form of the verb which according to Ibn Ya'īsh (*Sharḥ* VII,49/3-4) makes the *ma'nā al-tamannī* explicit.

47The origin of Abū Ḥayyān's additional remark that, in Sībawayh's view, the governance of *lā* is restricted to the *ism khāṣṣa*, is not clear.

48*illā* is the *aṣl* ("source, principle") of the exceptive particles. See for the general rules on *illā*, Wright II,335-342; also Carter 1975.

49If the general term is not expressed at all, the thing excepted is put in whatever case the general term would have been, had it been expressed; thus *mā djā'anī illā zaydun* and *mā ra'aytu illā zaydan*. This type of exceptive sentence is called *istithnā' mufaragh* "void exception"; it is, however, discussed by Sībawayh as if it were an *istithnā' muttaṣil*.

50According to Sībawayh, the noun which follows *illā* is governed by the previous part of the utterance in the same way as *dirhaman* is governed by *'ishrūna* in *'ishrūna dirhaman* (KS I,315/1-5). On *'ishrūna dirhaman* see Carter 1972b.485-96. According to al-Mubarrad, the exception has the accusative under the influence of *illā*, which takes the place of a verb. In his view, the underlying structure is *lā a'nī zaydan* "I do not mean Zayd" or *astathnī minhum zaydan* "I except Zayd from them" (*Muqtaḍab* IV,390/1-4). The government of *illā* is the subject of one of the *masā'il al-khilāf* Ibn al-Anbārī presents in his *Inṣāf* (260-65; no. 34). The disagreement between Sībawayh and al-Mubarrad is also reported by Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr* I,128-29.

51In the *Kāmil* (II,88-90), al-Mubarrad does not add anything new to his theory on exceptive sentences as we know it from the *Muqtaḍab*.

52Translation from Arberry 1971.I,244.

53Translation from Arberry 1971.I,253.

54In a paper on this subject, presented at the 14th Congress of the UEA, Budapest 1988, I have argued that the restriction of not changing the *Mushaf* made Sībawayh include the exception of Qur'ān 11:116 in a separate chapter.

55Al-Nahhās discusses Qur'ān 11:116 in his *I'rāb al-Qur'ān* (II,307-308), considering the exception to be a severed exception. He does not refer to al-Mubarrad in this context.

*Notes to Chapter Six*

- 1See, however, *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 49, where Ibn Wallâd is of the opinion that al-Mubarrad's interpretation of a poetical line is more intelligible than Sîbawayh's explanation.
- 2A clear retraction of criticism appears in *ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 51, 103 and 110, where al-Mubarrad initially objects to Sîbawayh's views, but explicitly subscribes to these same views in the *Muqṭadab*. Note also that his judgements are milder as far as *ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 99, 101 and 102 are concerned. Ibn Wallâd noticed an explicit retraction of criticism by comparing the *Radd* with another book of al-Mubarrad (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 40; see note 29 of Appendix One). See also *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 70, where Ibn Wallâd concluded that al-Mubarrad had changed his mind on the basis of the fact that a passage concerning the subject at hand was crossed out in his father's copy of a book of al-Mubarrad.
- 3"*Wa-hâdhâ qawl Abî al-Ḥasan al-Akhfash wa-Abî 'Uthmân al-Mâzinî*" occurs for the first time in *ms. Ibn Wallâd* 6/13-7/1.
- 4According to al-Mubarrad's own statements (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* 98/1 and 151/1) and Ibn Wallâd's observations (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* 105/2 and 182/8). See notes 27 and 29 of Appendix One.
- 5According to Hârûn, editor of the *Khizânat al-Adab*, XIII (index) 81/18, al-Mubarrad had called his *Radd* "*al-Sharḥ*". Al-Baghdâdî includes a reference from al-Nahhâs, in which the latter claims that al-Mubarrad quotes al-Ziyâdî in his *Sharḥ* (*Khizâna* V, 421/17). The only time al-Mubarrad refers to al-Ziyâdî in the *Radd* is in a different context (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 10).
- 6See *ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 10 and 11 (Abû Naṣr Hârûn b. Mûsâ, Ibn Ya'îsh and Abû Hayyân knew about criticism, but not about criticism from al-Mubarrad); *ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 67 and 68 (al-Sîrâfî and Abû Hayyân knew about al-Mâzinî's critical remarks, but not about al-Mubarrad's consent); and *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 69 (al-Sîrâfî knew of criticisms, but he did not know about the remarks made by al-Mubarrad).
- 7See *ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 10 and 11 (al-Fârisî and Ibn Maḍâ knew al-Mubarrad's opinion from the *Radd*); *ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 67 and 68 (Ibn Ya'îsh discussed the remarks from the *Radd*); and *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 69 (Abû Hayyân and al-Baghdâdî referred to al-Mubarrad's criticism).
- 8See *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 21 (al-Sîrâfî and Abû Naṣr Hârûn b. Mûsâ recognized a difference of opinion between Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad) and *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 22 (Abû Hayyân and al-Baghdâdî referred to a divergent view on the authority of al-Nahhâs).



- 9See *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 22 (al-Fârisî did not label the theories he rejected) and *ms. Ibn Wallâd* nos. 67 and 68 (note that Abû Ḥayyân did not refer to al-Mubarrad).
- 10See also Humbert 1992.127-31. She mentions al-Mubarrad's personal reputation as a favourite of the caliph al-Mutawakkil and his contacts high up in society as other possible explanations for his success. Both explanations seem unlikely to me. Al-Mubarrad had visited the caliph only once or twice and the story about the way Muhammad b. Wallâd forced al-Mubarrad to give him an authorized copy of the *Kitâb* illustrates that his contacts with influential members of society were more important than those al-Mubarrad had had (see p. 33).
- 11I have stated "practically all" known versions because Humbert (1992) has discovered that a manuscript now in Milan deviates from al-Mubarrad's original version.
- 12Little attention has been given in the present study to the contents of Ibn Wallâd's refutation. In view of the fact that Ibn Wallâd was apparently not informed about al-Mubarrad's retraction of criticism and that a great number of the disagreements between Sîbawayh and al-Mubarrad which have found their way into al-Baghdâdî's *Khizâna* (see Chapter Five) were reported on the authority of al-Nahhâs – like Ibn Wallâd an Egyptian grammarian – it would also be interesting to investigate especially al-Mubarrad's Egyptian connections.
- 13As in the discussion on *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 21, where al-Mubarrad's view corresponded with that of al-Farrâ', but not with that of Tha'lab (see Chapter Five).
- 14My thanks go to Dr. G.H.A. Juynboll who, during one of our discussions, made valuable suggestions on what follows.
- 15See p. 4 for references to Rosenthal (1947), Ahmed (1968) and Schoeller (1985) regarding the way of transmitting knowledge.
- 16Cf. Juynboll, 1984.309-10 where this term is applied to early Islamic historiography.



INVENTORY OF THE MS. *IBN WALLÂD I*

Column 1: number of the *mas'ala*; column 2: pagination of the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*; column 3: short description of the grammatical problem.

- 1      2-6 The consonants of declension<sup>1</sup>
- 2      6-7 The declension of the dual and the plural<sup>2</sup>
- 3      7-8 *Dakhala* plus accusative<sup>3</sup>
- 4      9-14 The difference between *nubbi'tu zaydan* and *nubbi'tu 'an zaydin*<sup>4</sup>
- 5      14-16 *Kâna* in the meaning of "to happen, to take place"
- 6      16-18 The (undefined) predicate of *kâna*<sup>5</sup>
- 7      18-20 The anteposition of the predicate in the accusative<sup>6</sup>
- 8      20-21 The conjunction of two regents<sup>7</sup>
- 9      21-24 On sentences in which the verb is built on a preceding *zarf*<sup>8</sup>
- 10     24-31 The conjunction of two sentences with different grammatical structures<sup>9</sup>
- 11     31-34 The nominative in *a-anta zaydun ḍarabtahu*<sup>10</sup>
- 12     34-38 The nominative after *idhâ* and *ḥaythu*<sup>11</sup>
- 13     38-43 The government of *fa'il* and *fa'il*<sup>12</sup>
- 14     43-44 Nominative and accusative in *a-taqûlu zaydun/an muntaliqun/an*<sup>13</sup>
- 15     44-48 The postposition of *azunnu* and the like
- 16     48-51 *Al-ḍâribu zaydan* on the basis of *allâdhî yaḍribu* or *allâdhî ḍaraba*
- 17     51-53 The conjunctive *fa* and the accusative in (*ammâ*) *zaydan fa-idribhu*
- 18     53-56 The principle of substitution in Qur'ân 2:217

- 19 56-57 *Dakhala* plus accusative<sup>14</sup>
- 20 57-58 The accusative in *dja'altu matâ'aka ba'dahu fawqa ba'd*
- 21 58-61 The separation between the genitive and its operator<sup>15</sup>
- 22 61 The genitive of *-ka* in *al-dâribâka*<sup>16</sup>
- 23 62-63 The anteposition of the *tamyîz* "specification"<sup>17</sup>
- 24 63-66 Adverbs of place and time (*zurûf*) as the answer to *matâ* or *kam*
- 25 66-68 The answer to *matâ* or *kam* in a poetic line from Ibn al-Riqâ'
- 26 68-71 The explanation of *ḥadharaka zaydan* and *ḥadhârîka zaydan*<sup>18</sup>
- 27 71-74 The accusative depending on a deleted verb in imperative sentences<sup>19</sup>
- 28 74-78 The interpretation of *in* in a poetic line from al-Namir b. Tawlab<sup>20</sup>
- 29 78-80 The underlying structure of *in lâ ṣâlihîn fa-ṭâlihîn*<sup>21</sup>
- 30 80-84 *Mâ* compensating the omission of the verb in *ammâ anta muntaliqan intalaqtu ma'aka*
- 31 84-85 The underlying structure of *kayfa anta wa-zaydan*
- 32 85-87 The argumentation behind the definite *al-saḡyu laka* instead of *saḡyan laka*<sup>22</sup>
- 33 87-88 The argumentation behind the indefinite nominative of *amtun fî al-ḥadjari lâ fîka*<sup>23</sup>
- 34 88-91 The accusative on the basis of a deleted verb or on the basis of its being a *ḥâl* in the interpretation of some poetic lines<sup>24</sup>
- 35 91-93 The argumentation behind the accusative instead of the nominative in *lahu ṣawtun ṣawta ḥimârin*<sup>25</sup>
- 36 93-95 '*ammâ*: substitute or adjective?
- 37 95-97 Different opinions on the status of the expression *labbayka*<sup>26</sup>

- 38 97-100 The argumentation behind the accusative in *ammâ 'âliman fa-'âlimun*<sup>27</sup>
- 39 100-104 The accusative in *'abdullâhi aḥsanu mâ yakûnu qâ'iman*<sup>28</sup>
- 40 104-106 The accusative in *dârî khalfa dârika farsakhan*<sup>29</sup>
- 41 106-109 The declinability of adverbs of time (*zurûf al-dahr*)<sup>30</sup>
- 42 109-110 The interpretation of some poetic lines from a poet of Bâhila
- 43 110-111 The negation of *marartu bi-zaydin wa-'amrin*<sup>31</sup>
- 44 111-113 The negation of *marartu bi-zaydin aw 'amrin*
- 45 113-114 Adjective or substitute in *ra'aytu ghulâma al-radjuli al-zarîf*
- 46 114-116 The accusative *'alâ al-badal* or *'alâ al-ḥâl* in a poetic line from Dhû al-Rumma<sup>32</sup>
- 47 116-119 The argumentation behind the genitive in *marartu bi-radjulin khazzin ṣuffatuhu*<sup>33</sup>
- 48 119-121 Agreement in gender between verb and subject
- 49 122-124 Interpretation of a poetic line from Ḥassân b. Thâbit<sup>34</sup>
- 50 124-132 The nominative in commencement position<sup>35</sup>
- 51 133-134 *Banât awbar*, definite or indefinite?<sup>36</sup>
- 52 135-136 The indeclinability of *ibnu af'ala*<sup>37</sup>
- 53 136-139 The correctness of an indefinite *ṣâḥib al-ḥâl*<sup>38</sup>
- 54 139-141 In a nominative sentence, the topic and comment are the same thing (*shay' huwa huwa*)<sup>39</sup>
- 55 141-142 *Lâkinna* with the status of *inna*
- 56 142-144 The omission of *kâna* in a poetic line from al-Farazdaq<sup>40</sup>
- 57 144-147 The regency of *ni'ma* and *bi'sa*<sup>41</sup>
- 58 148-149 *Aḥad* in the function of *wâḥid* and *djamî'*
- 59 149-154 The nunation of the nominative in *yâ ayyuhâ al-radjulu zaydun aqbil*
- 60 154-155 The *alif* of lamentation<sup>42</sup>
- 61 155-157 The lamentation over a man called *ḍarabû*

- 62 157-60 The interjection *yâ* followed by an undefined noun
- 63 160-62 The omission of the interjection *yâ* in a poetic line from al-‘Adjġādġ<sup>43</sup>
- 64 162-64 The interpretation of a poetic line from Labīd<sup>44</sup>
- 65 164-65 The interpretation of a poetic line
- 66 165-69 The repetition of *lâ* in coordinative sentences<sup>45</sup>
- 67 169-70 *A lâ* with the meaning of a wish plus nominative or accusative<sup>46</sup>
- 68 170-74 Nominative or accusative in *a-lâ ghulâma afḍalu/a minka*<sup>47</sup>
- 69 175-82 The exceptive particle *illâ* in the meaning of *wa-lâkinna*<sup>48</sup>
- 70 182-87 The exception as a *wasf* of the general term
- 71 187-90 The status of *ḥâshâ*: verb or particle?<sup>49</sup>
- 72 190-92 The omission of *fa* in the apodosis of a conditional sentence<sup>50</sup>
- 73 192-95 *Ḥattâ* plus subjunctive<sup>51</sup>
- 74 195-96 Interpretation of a poetic line from Ziyâd al-A‘ġjam
- 75 196-97 The omission of *fa* in the apodosis of a conditional sentence<sup>52</sup>
- 76 197-206 Some particularities of conditional sentences<sup>53</sup>
- 77 206-208 The interpretation of a poetic line in the context of the use of genitive particles in conditional sentences<sup>54</sup>
- 78 208-10 Formulating a question with *kullamâ*
- 79 210-11 The interpretation of a poetic line from al-Shammâkh
- 80 211-14 Qur’ân 12:35: *lâ* with the energetic in oaths<sup>55</sup>
- 81 214-21 The argumentation behind the declension of *mukhradjûna* in Qur’ân 23:35<sup>56</sup>
- 82 221-23 The difference between *kamâ inna* and *kamâ anna*
- 83 223-25 The interpretation of a poetic line from al-Farazdaq<sup>57</sup>
- 84 225-28 The nunation of a man called *ḍarabû*
- 85 228-29 About the declension of the names of tribes<sup>58</sup>

- 86 229-30 About the declension of the names of tribes<sup>59</sup>
- 87 230-33 About particles and adverbs used as a man's name<sup>60</sup>
- 88 233-35 Divergent forms of trilateral and quadrilateral verbs<sup>61</sup>
- 89 235-38 The declension of a man called *aḥmar*<sup>62</sup>
- 90 238-40 Interpretation of a poetic line concerning the expression  
*min dūn*<sup>63</sup>
- 91 240-41 About a man called *b* from *ḍaraba*<sup>64</sup>
- 92 241-42 About a man called *ḍ* from *ḍaraba*<sup>65</sup>
- 93 243-44 How to address a man called *alladhî ra'aytuhu*<sup>66</sup>
- 94 244-45 The *nisba* of 'adwa
- 95 246-48 The *nisbae wishawiyyun* and *damawiyyun*<sup>67</sup>
- 96 248-50 The *nisba* of *masâmi'a* (*misma'iyyun*) and *mahâlîba*  
(*muhallabiyyun*)<sup>68</sup>
- 97 250-52 Is the owner of wheat called a *barrâr*?<sup>69</sup>
- 98 252-53 The *hamza* instead of a *wâw*, vocalized with *u*, in  
*warqâwûna* or *warqâ'ûna*
- 99 253-55 The diminutive of *muq'ansîs*<sup>70</sup>
- 100 256-59 The diminutive of 'atawwad
- 101 259-60 The diminutive of 'ithwall<sup>71</sup>
- 102 260-64 The diminutive of *barûkâ* or *barâkâ*<sup>72</sup>
- 103 264-65 The diminutive of *djidârayn*<sup>73</sup>
- 104 265-67 The diminutive of *ibrâhîm* and *ismâ'îl*<sup>74</sup>
- 105 267-69 The diminutive of a woman called *ḍarabat*
- 106 169-71 The diminutive of *hâr*
- 107 271-74 The diminutive of 'adawî
- 108 274-76 The diminutive of the days of the week and other nouns of  
time<sup>75</sup>
- 109 276-79 The diminutive of *alladhî* and *allatî*<sup>76</sup>
- 110 279-80 The etymology of the word *allâh*: *ilâh* or *lâh*?<sup>77</sup>

- 111 280-85 The omission of the *nûn al-raʿi* in the energetic<sup>78</sup>
- 112 285-87 The lightening of the *hamza* when it occurs between two *alifs*<sup>79</sup>
- 113 287-90 Numerals formed according to the pattern of the *ism fâʿil*<sup>80</sup>
- 114 290-94 Nouns that have in both singular and plural the same form<sup>81</sup>
- 115 294-97 *Thalâthatu kilâbin* instead of *thalâthatu aklub*<sup>82</sup>
- 116 297-300 *Zurûf* is the plural of *zarîf*<sup>83</sup>
- 117 300-303 The word form of *waḍuʿa diʿatan* and *ḍaʿatan*
- 118 303-304 *Mufâʿalatun*, the *maṣdar* of *fâʿaltu*<sup>84</sup>
- 119 304-306 The locative form of *yafʿulu* is *mafʿalun*, not *mafʿulun*
- 120 306-307 Why they say *ḥababtu* and they do not say *yihibbu*
- 121 307-309 How to address a judge
- 122 309-13 About the hierarchy of the parts of speech<sup>85</sup>
- 123 313-16 *Min* after comparative adjectives
- 124 316-18 The formation of nouns and adjectives according to the pattern *mufʿal*<sup>86</sup>
- 125 318 The formation of nouns according to the pattern *mafʿula*
- 126 318-19 The *aṣl* of *ʿashawzana*: trilateral or quadrilateral?
- 127 319-21 The *tâʾ* as a *zâʿida* in *ʿankabût*
- 128 321-24 Alteration of the *wâw* into *hamza*<sup>87</sup>
- 129 324-25 *Mûtaʿid* and *îtaʿada* instead of *muttaʿid* and *ittaʿada*<sup>88</sup>
- 130 325-29 The formation of *qawîtu* and *ḥayîtu* according to the pattern *faʿalân*
- 131 329-30 The formation of *qawîtu* and *ḥayîtu* according to the pattern *faʿulân*<sup>89</sup>
- 132 330 The assimilation of *nûn* and *yâʾ*
- 133 331-33 The assimilation of *hâʾ* and *ḥâʾ* in a poetic line<sup>90</sup>
- 134 333-34 The status of the *sîn* in *yusṭîʿu*<sup>91</sup>



## Notes

- 1 According to Ibn Wallâd, al-Mubarrad's view is the same as al-Mâzinî's. Al-Mubarrad explicitly disagrees with Sîbawayh (mentioning his name) on this issue in *Muqtaḍab* II,151/9. Ibn al-Anbârî (*Inṣâf* I,33-39: no. 3) deals with this and the following *mas'ala* in terms of a disagreement between Basrans and Kufans.
- 2Al-Mubarrad mentions al-Mâzinî and al-Akhfash as having the view that the *alif*, *wâw* and *yâ'* in the dual and the plural are *dalâ'il* '*alâ al-i'râb*. In the *Muqtaḍab* he explains the theories of several grammarians, including al-Djarmî, and explicitly agrees with al-Akhfash. See also Ibn Djinnî, *Sirr* II,473/7ff; 695/3ff and 714/1ff. At the top of page 7 of *ms. Ibn Wallâd* part of the text is missing. The rest of the text deals with *dakhala* plus accusative, *mas'ala* 3.
- 3Al-Mubarrad does not mention other grammarians, neither in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*, nor in the *Muqtaḍab*. However, from the marginal note to *KS* I,69/ap. 4 it appears that al-Djarmî has the same opinion.
- 4Cf. marginal note al-Sîrâfî *KS Bûlâq* 17.
- 5Ibn al-Anbârî (*Inṣâf* II,821-28: no. 119) discusses this subject in terms of a disagreement between Basran and Kufan grammarians.
- 6See on this subject al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* IV,133ff and IX,102-105.
- 7Al-Mubarrad's remark is directed against al-Akhfash, probably concerning a marginal note to the *Kitâb*, which I was not able to locate.
- 8According to al-Mubarrad, Sîbawayh's examples from poetry are not appropriate. See also al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* I,359-60.
- 9An analysis of this *mas'ala* is included in Chapter Five. On the use of *ayy* and *man*, which is also discussed in this *mas'ala*, al-Mubarrad agrees explicitly with Sîbawayh in the *Muqtaḍab* (II,303/9 and 309/11).
- 10See for an analysis of this *mas'ala* Chapter Five.
- 11Al-Mubarrad deals with this issue, too, in *Kâmil* III,300/7; see also al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* III,32-33.
- 12The marginal note to *KS* I,47/ap. 10 appears to be from Abû 'Umar al-Djarmî, whereas in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* Abû 'Amr b. al-'Alâ' is mentioned. Al-Mubarrad disagrees explicitly with Sîbawayh on this subject in *Muqtaḍab* II,114ff. See also al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* VIII,155ff, especially 159-60.
- 13According to Ibn Wallâd, al-Akhfash, among others, agrees with Sîbawayh. Al-Sîrâfî says that al-Mâzinî has the same opinion as al-Mubarrad (*KS Bûlâq* I,63).
- 14See *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 3; both al-Mubarrad and Ibn Wallâd refer to their previous notes on this issue without adding anything new.

- 15See also al-Mubarrad, *Kâmil* II,142; III,217-18. See for an analysis of this *mas'ala* Chapter Five.
- 16Al-Mubarrad opposes al-Akhfash, not Sībawayh. See also his *Kâmil* I,364/6. An analysis of this *mas'ala* is included in Chapter Five.
- 17Al-Mubarrad also discusses here the *taqdîm al-hâl*. He disagrees explicitly with Sībawayh in *Muqtaḍab* III,36/3. Ibn al-Anbârî deals with both *taqdîm al-hâl* and *taqdîm al-tamyîz* in terms of a disagreement between Basran and Kufan grammarians (*Inṣâf* I,250-52: no. 31 and II,828-32: no. 120).
- 18Al-Mubarrad explains this expression rather than criticizing Sībawayh. However, he is of the opinion that the issue does not belong to the chapter under discussion which deals with *'alayka* and *dûnaka* plus accusative and not with verbs plus accusative where it would belong in his view.
- 19Al-Mubarrad does not have any substantial criticism, he only thinks that Sībawayh fails to explain his point of view. According to al-Mubarrad, Sībawayh's explanation follows in the next chapter.
- 20The subject under discussion is the omission of *mâ* from *immâ* (in *mâ*) as poetic license. Al-Mubarrad and Sībawayh agree on the principles of this subject. Their disagreement concerns the poetic line at issue, in which *in* may be interpreted either as *immâ*, or as *in al-djazâ'*. According to Sībawayh, the first possibility is the *wadjh*, although he also allows the second, whereas al-Mubarrad (on the authority of al-Aṣma'î) is of the opinion that the second is the *wadjh*. See also al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* XI,93ff.
- 21Al-Mubarrad's commentary concerns a detail of the explanation of a theory of Yûnus, which Sībawayh calls *qabîḥ ḍa'if*.
- 22Al-Mubarrad apparently does not give his own opinion, he only says that al-Djarmî allows the nominative. This *mas'ala* starts with al-Mubarrad's words: *wa-mimmâ aṣabnâhu fî al-djuz' al-khâmis min dhâlika* ... "as for what struck us in the fifth part ...". See also *ms. Ibn Wallâd* 113/4 (part seven), 139/3 (part nine), 142/13 (part ten), 154/7 (parts twelve and thirteen), 194/5 (part twenty one) and 279/6 (*kurrâsa* number thirty six). See Chapter Four.
- 23Cf. marginal note of al-Sîrâfî (*KS Bûlâq* I,166) who repeats al-Mubarrad's argumentation.
- 24Al-Mâzinî is not mentioned in the *Muqtaḍab*, although al-Mubarrad expresses the same opinion.
- 25Al-Mubarrad discusses this issue, too, in *Kâmil* II,283-84.
- 26Al-Mubarrad's criticism is directed against Yûnus and he essentially agrees with Sībawayh. It is not clear why al-Mubarrad suddenly goes back to a previous chapter. He refers to the title of chapter 68 and to a

chapter he calls *bâb al-ibtidâ'*; however, chapter 73 includes the relevant passage. See Chapter Four.

27The accusative is '*alâ al-hâl*' according to Sîbawayh and '*alâ kâna*' according to al-Mubarrad. The latter also disagrees with al-Akhfash. Al-Mubarrad says: "We have already explained the theory behind this in another book (*kitâb*)" (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* 98/1). See also *ms. Ibn Wallâd* 151/1, where al-Mubarrad says: "This has already been explained in another booklet (*daftar*)". See Chapter Four.

28Al-Mubarrad's commentary concerns the way in which Sîbawayh explains the accusative; on some aspects of Sîbawayh's theory he disagrees explicitly in *Muqtaḍab* III,252/3, but in general they agree on the principal rules.

29According to al-Mubarrad, the accusative of *farsakh* is '*alâ al-hâl*', not '*alâ al-tamyîz*'. Ibn Wallâd explicitly refers to al-Mubarrad as already having changed his mind, saying *wa-qad radja'a 'an hâdhâ al-qawl fî al-kitâb alladhî waḍa'ahu li-sharh mâ aghfala Sîbawayh* (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* 105/2). See also *ms. Ibn Wallâd* 182/8, where Ibn Wallâd refers to a manuscript of his father, saying: "He said 'I have found this crossed out in his book', and he meant Muḥammad [b. Yazîd al-Mubarrad]'s book; so he had already changed his mind on this issue". See Chapter Four.

30Al-Mubarrad's remark is an addition to what Sîbawayh says; he does not express any criticism.

31Cf. al-Sîrâfî's marginal note (*KS Bûlâq* I,218).

32See al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* V,462-63.

33Al-Mubarrad's criticism concerns a theory of Yûnus.

34According to Ibn Wallâd, al-Mubarrad's interpretation is more comprehensible than Sîbawayh's explanation.

35Al-Mubarrad explicitly states in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* that *zayd* in *fî al-dâri zaydun* has the nominative case-ending from *fî al-dâri*, because this has the meaning of *istaqarra*. In the *Muqtaḍab* (III,257) he only refers to this meaning of *istaqarra*, not to its being the regent of *zayd*. Ibn al-Anbârî (*Inṣâf* I,51-55: no. 6 and 245-48: no. 29) deals with this subject in terms of a disagreement between Basran and Kufan grammarians.

36See also *Muqtaḍab* IV,320/7, where al-Mubarrad explicitly agrees with Sîbawayh. The issue is also discussed by Ibn Djinnî, *Sirr* I,364-66.

37According to al-Mubarrad, this issue does not belong to the chapter under discussion.

38Ibn Wallâd refers to Abû Ishâq al-Ziyâdî.

39According to al-Mubarrad, when they are not the same thing, the comment has to contain something that refers to the topic.

40See al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* IX,217ff.

- 41Ibn al-Anbârî discusses the status of *ni'ma* and *bi'sa* in terms of a disagreement between the Basrans and Kufans (*Inṣâf* I,97-126: no. 14).
- 42The subject is discussed by Ibn al-Anbârî as a point of disagreement between Basran and Kufan grammarians (*Inṣâf* I,362-65: nos. 51 and 52).
- 43Al-Mubarrad calls Sîbawayh's remarks on the subject a "gross mistake" (*khata' fâḥish*). Al-Sîrâfî (*KS Bûlâq* I,325) quotes al-Mubarrad's criticism literally. See also al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* II,126/9.
- 44Al-Sîrâfî (*KS Bûlâq* I,328) quotes al-Mubarrad literally from the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*.
- 45See al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* I,467/11.
- 46On some of the aspects of *lâ* as a *nâfiyat al-djins* al-Mubarrad disagrees explicitly with Sîbawayh; see *Muqtaḍab* IV,366/1 about *lâ* plus dual or plural. Ibn al-Anbârî deals with the regency of *lâ* in terms of a disagreement between the Basrans and Kufans (*Inṣâf* I,366-70: no. 53). On *a-lâ* with the meaning of a wish, al-Mubarrad explicitly agrees with Sîbawayh in *Muqtaḍab* IV,382/15. See for an analysis of this *mas'ala* Chapter Five.
- 47See for an analysis of this *mas'ala* Chapter Five. Al-Mubarrad agrees explicitly with Sîbawayh in *Muqtaḍab* IV,399/15 and 400/1.
- 48Al-Mubarrad deals with this subject, too, in his *Kâmil* II,88-90. An analysis of this *mas'ala* is included in Chapter Five. Ibn Wallâd refers to Abû 'Ubayda in discussing a poetic line from al-Farazdaq; he refers to al-Farrâ' (*Ma'ânî al-Qur'ân*) in discussing Qur'ân 11:43.
- 49Al-Mubarrad takes sides with al-Djarmî, who is mentioned in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*. Although al-Mubarrad does not change his mind on this subject, he makes no mention of al-Djarmî in the *Muqtaḍab* (IV,391-93). According to Ibn al-Anbârî (*Inṣâf* I,278-87: no. 37), the status of *ḥâshâ* is a point of disagreement between Basran and Kufan grammarians.
- 50Al-Mubarrad generally agrees with Sîbawayh on this issue in the *Muqtaḍab*. However, on the aspect of *taqdîm* and *ta'khîr* in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, he explicitly disagrees with him (*Muqtaḍab* II,67/1).
- 51Cf. al-Sîrâfî's marginal note (*KS Bûlâq* I,415). The subject is discussed by Ibn al-Anbârî (*Inṣâf* II,597-602: no. 83) in terms of a disagreement between Basrans and Kufans.
- 52According to al-Mubarrad, Sîbawayh contradicts what he said in the chapter on *ayy*. Ibn Wallâd refers to the discussion in *mas'ala* 72.
- 53Several aspects of conditional sentences are discussed in this *mas'ala*. According to 'Udayma, al-Mubarrad withdrew his critical remarks on the *mâ al-tamîmiyya* (*Muqtaḍab* II,59-60/nt.1; discussed as a point of

disagreement between Basran and Kufan grammarians in Ibn al-Anbârî's *Inṣâf* I, 165-72: no. 19. See also al-Zadjdâdjî, *Madjâlîs* 89).

54According to Ibn Wallâd, the argumentation of al-Farrâ' (to whom al-Mubarrad refers) is *da'îf*. See also al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* X, 143-46.

55Al-Mâzinî's marginal comment (*KS* I, 405/ap. 22) corresponds with the opinion al-Mubarrad expresses in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*; however, he does not mention al-Mâzinî.

56Al-Mubarrad explicitly disagrees with Sîbawayh in *Muqtaḍab* II, 356/1. Al-Akhfash and al-Djarmî are mentioned in the *Muqtaḍab* (II, 354/11 and 355/4) with regard to another *sûra*. Al-Mubarrad's view corresponds with that of al-Djarmî; both disagree with al-Akhfash.

57See al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* IX, 78-79.

58In al-Mubarrad's view, the poetic line from al-Nâbigha is not a proper illustration in the context of above-mentioned subject.

59In al-Mubarrad's view, the poetic line from Imru' al-Qays is not a proper illustration in the context of this subject.

60Ibn Wallâd mentions al-Akhfash in his refutation of al-Mubarrad's arguments concerning a poetic line from Ibn Muqbil.

61Cf. al-Sîrâfî's marginal note (*KS Bûlâq* II, 40); see also al-Baghdâdî, *Khizâna* VI, 308/1.

62Al-Mubarrad disagrees also with al-Akhfash.

63Cf. al-Sîrâfî's marginal note (*KS Bûlâq* II, 47).

64In the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*, al-Mubarrad calls Sîbawayh's opinion a gross mistake. He repeats this in the *Muqtaḍab*, without, however, mentioning Sîbawayh by name. Al-Akhfash also disagrees with Sîbawayh (*KS* II, 57/ap. 13). See al-Sîrâfî's marginal note (*KS Bûlâq* II, 62); al-Sîrâfî mentions al-Akhfash, al-Mâzinî and al-Mubarrad as all three disagreeing with Sîbawayh. Al-Mubarrad does not mention any other grammarian in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*.

65Again, al-Mubarrad calls Sîbawayh's opinion a gross mistake. Al-Akhfash is mentioned by Ibn Wallâd in his refutation of al-Mubarrad.

66Cf. *KS* I, 269/10 (*KS Bûlâq* 310/14), where Sîbawayh allows *yâ allatî* as a poetic license. According to al-Sîrâfî, al-Mubarrad disagrees with Sîbawayh on this subject; see, however: *Muqtaḍab* IV, 241/4. Ibn al-Anbârî discusses the subject in terms of a disagreement between Basrans and Kufans (*Inṣâf* I, 335-40: no. 46).

67Al-Mubarrad also disagrees with al-Akhfash in both the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* and the *Muqtaḍab*. Cf. al-Sîrâfî's marginal note, in which al-Akhfash's opinion is mentioned (*KS Bûlâq* II, 85). Al-Mubarrad agrees explicitly with Sîbawayh on the *nisbae damawiyyun* and *wishawiyyun* in *Muqtaḍab* III, 152/10, 153/1 and 156/10. He disagrees explicitly with Sîbawayh on the *aṣl* of *dam/damawiyyun* in *Muqtaḍab* III, 153/3. See on

- this latter issue al-Zadjdjâdjî, *Madjâlis* 251 and Ibn Djinnî, *Munşif* II,148ff; 389-90 (notes).
- 68Al-Mubarrad says in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* that he agrees with Sîbawayh on the principle that the *nisba* of the plural is made on the basis of the singular. He disagrees with regard to the above-mentioned examples which he considers to be the *nisbae* of *misma'* and *muhallab*.
- 69Al-Mubarrad argues in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* against Sîbawayh's remark that the *fa'âl*-form is not "productive" in all cases, like *barrâr*. He is convinced that it is a proper *kalâm* expression and he is of the opinion that one does not need an illustration from the Qur'ân or from poetry to accept it as correct Arabic. In the *Muqtaḍab* (III,161) he does not mention this explicitly.
- 70In the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*, al-Mubarrad says that Sîbawayh's opinion is a *khata'*; he states in the *Muqtaḍab* (II,251) that in his view what Sîbawayh says is not the *qiyâs*. See also *Muqtaḍab* II,233/7, where al-Mubarrad writes that Sîbawayh's opinion on the *asl* of *muq'ansis* (resulting in *maqâ'is*, instead of *qa'âsis*) is a *ghalat shadîd*.
- 71Al-Mubarrad says in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* that Sîbawayh's opinion is a *khata'*; in the *Muqtaḍab* (II,245) he states that what Sîbawayh says is allowed, but that his own theory is preferable.
- 72Al-Mubarrad says in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*: "and this is *ghalat*"; in the *Muqtaḍab* (II,260-62) this is changed into: "and this is not *ṣawâb*".
- 73Al-Mubarrad agrees explicitly with Sîbawayh in *Muqtaḍab* II,262/1.
- 74Al-Sîrâfî refers to al-Mubarrad's commentary on this subject (*KS Bûlâq* II,120).
- 75In the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* al-Mubarrad calls Sîbawayh's opinion a gross mistake; he states that the grammarians in general do not disagree on this issue. In the *Muqtaḍab* II,276/2, al-Mubarrad disagrees explicitly with Sîbawayh on this subject.
- 76Al-Mubarrad repeats his point of view in the *Muqtaḍab* (II,289-90), giving first Sîbawayh's opinion, followed by that of al-Akhfash and saying of the latter that this is the *qiyâs*. Cf. the marginal note of al-Sîrâfî, who also mentions the difference between Sîbawayh and al-Akhfash (*KS Bûlâq* II,140).
- 77Elsewhere (*KS* I,268), Sîbawayh says that the origin is *ilâh* and that the *hamza* is a *zâ'ida*, which is deleted when the article is added. In the passage under discussion, he says that it comes from *lâh* and this point of view is criticized by al-Mubarrad. Cf. *Muqtaḍab* IV,240/3, where al-Mubarrad explicitly agrees with Sîbawayh. See also al-Zadjdjâdjî, *Madjâlis* 56.
- 78Ibn Wallâd refers in his refutation to "*al-risâla allatî ṣaddara bihâ kitâbahu*", i.e., the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*.

79According to Sîbawayh, the reason for the lightening of the *hamza* lies in the fact that of all the letters the *alif* resembles the *hamza* the most. In al-Mubarrad's view, this only applies to the *hamza khafifa*. That Sîbawayh in this case does not differentiate between the two kinds of *hamza*, is called by al-Mubarrad in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* a gross mistake and *min akbar al-ghalaṭ* (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* 284/5).

80Al-Mubarrad refers in the *Muqtaḍab* (II,181-82) to Sîbawayh's position by saying *fa-hâdha qawl al-nahwiyyîn al-mutaqaddimîn*. He then states that his own opinion corresponds with that of al-Akhfash, which is the same as that of al-Mâzinî.

81Al-Mubarrad's criticism concerns the opinion of al-Aṣma'î, not of Sîbawayh.

82*Aklub* is a "plural of paucity" (*djam' qilla*), used of persons and things that do not exceed ten in number; *kilâb* is a plural of abundance (*djam' kathra*; Wright I,234/B). The criticism al-Mubarrad has in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*, is that Sîbawayh says on the authority of al-Khalîl that *thalâthatu kilâbin* is only allowed in poetry, whereas al-Mubarrad knows examples from the Qur'ân and Beduin speech as well.

83Al-Mubarrad refers in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* to al-Djarmî, with whom he agrees. He still holds the same view in the *Muqtaḍab*, but does not mention al-Djarmî there. The critical remark of al-Djarmî is included in the text of the *Kitâb Sîbawayh*; 'Udayma thinks it probably got there via al-Mubarrad's *Radd*. See also al-Ŝirâfî's marginal note, in which al-Djarmî is mentioned (*KS Bûlâq* II,208).

84Cf. the marginal note from al-Ŝirâfî (*KS Bûlâq* II,243).

85Al-Mubarrad's commentary appears to concern the text of the marginal note as it is given by Derenbourg (*KS* II,331/ap. 22). The text is an explanation of the words (...*al-ism al-muẓhar*) *wa-huwa al-awwal al-qawî*. Derenbourg's manuscript L adds to the text *qâla aḥsabahu tafsîr al-Akhfash*. Al-Mubarrad repeats the text literally in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*, but he does not include the addition of ms. L. That is the reason why it is not clear whether al-Mubarrad reacts against al-Akhfash or against Sîbawayh.

86In the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*, al-Mubarrad apparently reacts against a text of Sîbawayh which is not complete. His version of the text does not correspond with that as given by Derenbourg. Apparently, Ibn Wallâd noticed this, too, when he says: "... he should have noticed that these are not Sîbawayh's words ... . I have looked into several manuscripts and I have found out that what Sîbawayh says is correct and right ...". He subsequently reproduces the text as we know it from the Derenbourg edition (*ms. Ibn Wallâd* 317/4-13). See Chapter Four.

87Cf. *ms. Ibn Wallâd* no. 98, in which al-Mubarrad deals with the same subject. Al-Mubarrad disagrees with Sîbawayh explicitly in *Muqtaḍab* I,285/2. See also Ibn Djinnî, *Munṣif* II,323.

88See also *Kâmil* I,175-76, especially I,176/5 where al-Mubarrad refers to his *Muqtaḍab* for further explanation.

89Al-Mubarrad says in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd* that his opinion is based on the theory of al-Djarmî and that it is the general opinion of all the grammarians. See also Ibn Djinnî, *Munṣif* II,281ff.

90The margin of the Derenbourg edition (*KS* II,463/ap. 2&3) contains a remark from Abû Naṣr Hârûn b. Mûsâ (also his *Sharḥ KS* 319) who says that this must be a scribal error – Sîbawayh meant *ikhfâ* “concealment” instead of *idghâm* “assimilation” – and a critical note from al-Akhfash, stating that assimilation is not allowed, but concealment is, in this case. Al-Akhfash’s remark corresponds exactly to what al-Mubarrad says in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*. Additionally, al-Mubarrad calls allowing assimilation a gross mistake. See also Ibn Djinnî, *Sirr* I,58/4ff, who elaborates on this issue.

91See Ibn Djinnî, *Sirr* I,199/10ff.



INVENTORY OF THE *MS. IBN WALLÂD II*

Column 1: number of the *mas'ala*; column 2: pagination of the Derenbourg edition of the *Kitâb Sibawayh*; column 3: number of the chapter of the *Kitâb Sibawayh*; column 4: pagination of the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*; column 5: references to the other grammarians mentioned by al-Mubarrad (A = al-Akhfash; M = al-Mâzinî; Dj = al-Djarmî; Asm = al-Aşma'î; Z = al-Ziyâdî; F = al-Farrâ'; AZ = al-Anşârî); column 6: grammatical category in which the *mas'ala* comes (s = syntax; m = morpho-phonology); column 7: indications to al-Mubarrad's critical position, first in the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*, then in the *Muqtaḍab* ((+) = critical attitude; (−) = non-critical or neutral attitude); column 8: pagination of the *Muqtaḍab*.

nr	kitâb	bâb	ms. IW	names	cat	pos.	muqtaḍab
1	I,1/2	2	2-6	∅	s	+ +	II,151
2	I,3/12	2	6-7	A/M	s	+ +	II,151-53/nt.1
3	I,11/20	10	7-8	∅	s	+ +	IV,337/nt.1
4	I,12/24	11	9-14	∅	s	+ +	IV,338-39/nt.37
5	I,16/24	17	14-16	∅	s	+ ?	?
6	I,20/16	18	16-18	∅	s	+ ?	?
7	I,22/24	19	18-20	M	s	+ +	IV,191-92/nt.1
8	?	?	20-21	A	s	− ?	?
9	I,33/16	25	21-24	Dj	s	+ ?	?
10	I,37/15	27	24-31	A/Z	s	+ −	II,72; 74; 298; 309; IV,111
11	I,43/8	29	31-34	A	s	+ −	II,72; 74; 298; 309; IV,111
12	I,44/7	29	34-38	M	s	+ +	II,74-76/nt.4
13	I,47/10	30	38-43	Dj	s	+ +	II,115-17/nt.2
14	I,50/17	31	43-44	∅	s	+ ?	?
15	I,49/9	31	44-48	∅	s	+ ?	?
16	I,54/5	32	48-51	∅	s	+ ?	?
17	I,58/16	33	51-53	A/M	s	+ −	II,48; 53; 56; 60; 63; 77
18	I,64/6	35	53-56	∅	s	− ?	?

19	I,68/14,20	36	56-57	ø	s	+	+	IV,337/nt.1
20	I,67/12	35	57-58	ø	s	+	?	?
21	I,76/8	38	58-61	ø	s	—	—	IV,227-31
22	I,79/1	39	61	A	s	—	—	I,383; 398; IV,144
23	I,85/19	41	62-63	M	s	+	+	III,36-37/nt.1 & 2
24	I,91/9	43	63-66	ø	s	+	—	IV,333/nt.2
25	I,91/21	43	66-68	ø	s	+	?	?
26	I,105/18	49	68-71	ø	s	—	?	?
27	I,108/3	50	71-74	ø	s	—	?	?
28	I,113/15	52	74-78	Asm	s	+	—	III,28/nt.5
29	I,111/16	52	78-80	ø	s	+	?	?
30	I,123/17	57	80-84	ø	s	+	—	IV,34/nt.4
31	I,127/16	59	84-85	ø	s	+	?	?
32	I,138/3	67	85-87	Dj	s	—	?	?
33	I,138/7	67	87-88	ø	s	+	?	?
34	I,150/12	75	88-91	M	s	+	+	III,203; 232
35	I,153/1	77	91-93	ø	s	+	?	?
36	I,159/2	87	93-95	ø	s	+	?	?
37	I,147/7	73	95-97	ø	s	—	?	?
38	I,163/1	90	97-100	A	s	+	?	?
39	I,170/4	97	100-104	ø	s	—	—	III,252
40	I,176/17	99	104-106	ø	s	+	—	III,102-10; IV,332-33
41	I,177/7	99	106-109	ø	s	—	?	?
42	I,182/18	101	109-110	ø	s	+	—	IV,291-92/nt.2
43	I,185/22	102	110-111	M	s	+	—	II,132; III,301-302
44	I,186/7	102	111-113	M	s	+	—	II,132; III,301-302
45	I,188/14	104	113-114	ø	s	+	—	IV,282-83/nt.1
46	I,190/8	104	114-116	ø	s	+	?	?
47	I,197/4	109	116-119	ø	s	+	?	?
48	I,202/3	111	119-121	ø	s	+	—	II,144-45/nt.3; IV,59
49	I,207/9	112	122-124	ø	s	+	?	?
50	I,222/14	121	124-132	A/M	s	+	—	III,257; IV,132; 167; 308
51	I,225/17	122	133-134	Asm	s	+	—	IV,48-49/nt.2
52	I,227/10	122	135-136	ø	s	—	?	?
53	I,237/6	130	136-139	ø	s	+	—	IV,286/nt.1
54	I,239/5	132	139-141	ø	s	+	+	IV,127-28/nt.5
55	I,246/9	138	141-142	ø	s	+	—	IV,111/nt.2
56	I,249/13	140	142-144	ø	s	+	+	IV,116-18/nt.2

57	I,258/18	145	144-147	ø	s	+ -	II,149-50
58	I,261/20	145	148-149	ø	s	? ?	?
59	I,266/24	147	149-154	ø	s	+ -	IV,220-21/nt.1
60	I,280/9	154	154-155	ø	s	- ?	?
61	I,281/13	157	155-157	ø	s	+ ?	?
62	I,283/13	160	157-160	M	s	+ ?	?
63	I,283/19	160	160-162	M	s	+ -	IV,260/nt.1
64	I,285/13	162	162-164	ø	s	+ ?	?
65	I,286/15	162	164-165	ø	s	+ ?	?
66	I,312/3	184	165-169	ø	s	+ -	IV,359; 380-81; 387-88
67	I,314/12	184	169-170	M	s	+ -	IV,383-86
68	I,314/14	184	170-174	M	s	+ -	IV,383-86; 399-400
69	I,321/1	191	175-182	ø	s	+ -	IV,412-19
70	I,322/21	194	182-187	ø	s	+ -	IV,408/nt.1
71	I,329/14	202	187-190	Dj	s	+ +	IV,391-93/nt.3
72	I,350/8	222	190-192	Asm	s	+ -	II,66-71
73	I,371/12	239	192-195	A	s	+ -	II,41-42
74	I,381/3	243	195-196	ø	s	- -	II,27-28
75	I,387/7	245	196-197	ø	s	+ -	II,66-71
76	I,391/11	248	197-206	ø	s	+ -	II,59-60/nt.1; 299/nt.1; 359
77	I,394/1	249	206-208	F	s	+ ?	?
78	I,402/19	254	208-210	ø	s	+ ?	?
79	I,403/10	254	210-211	ø	s	? ?	?
80	I,405/20	255	211-214	ø	s	+ ?	?
81	I,415/19	267	214-221	A/Dj	s	+ +	II,355-57/nt.3
82	I,421/4	270	221-223	ø	s	+ ?	?
83	I,428/3	274	223-225	ø	s	+ ?	?
84	II,7/14	290	225-228	ø	s	+ -	IV,35/nt.1
85	II,27/2	304	228-229	ø	s	+ ?	?
86	II,27/7	305	229-230	ø	s	+ ?	?
87	II,33/1	307	230-233	ø	s	+ -	IV,41-42
88	II,36/17	309	233-235	M	m	+ ?	?
89	II,39/17	310	235-238	A	s	+ -	III,312-13/nt.2
90	II,43/3	311	238-240	ø	s	+ ?	?
91	II,57/7	316	240-241	ø	m	+ +	I,171
92	II,59/14	316	241-242	ø	m	+ +	I,170-71/nt.4
93	II,63/12	317	243-244	ø	s	+ -	IV,241-43/nt.2
94	II,69/23	322	244-245	ø	m	+ ?	?

95	II,81/17	332	246-248	A	m	+	-	III,156-57/nt.1
96	II,86/10	339	248-250	ø	m	+	?	?
97	II,88/6	341	250-252	ø	m	+	-	III,161
98	II,94/19	349	252-253	M	m	+	+	I,231/nt.1
99	II,111/18	366	253-255	ø	m	+	+	II,251/nt.2
100	II,112/4	366	256-259	ø	m	+	?	?
101	II,112/6	366	259-260	M	m	+	-	II,245/nt.1
102	II,118/4	368	260-264	ø	m	+	+	II,260-62/nt.2
103	II,119/11	368	264-265	ø	m	+	-	II,263/nt.1
104	II,121/9	370	265-267	M	m	+	?	?
105	II,125/20	378	267-269	ø	m	+	?	?
106	II,126/10	379	269-271	M	m	+	?	?
107	II,135/14	385	271-274	M	m	+	?	?
108	II,138/13	389	274-276	ø	m	+	+	II,275-76/nt.1
109	II,141/19	393	276-279	A	m	+	+	II,289-90/nt.3
110	II,147/8	397	279-280	ø	m	+	-	IV,240-41/nt.1 & 2
111	II,157/5	403	280-285	M	m	+	-	III,20-21/nt.1
112	II,174/17	411	285-287	ø	m	+	?	?
113	II,179/1	413	287-290	A/M	m	+	+	II,181-82/nt.1 & 2
114	II,195/16	420	290-294	Asm	m	-	?	?
115	II,210/10	428	294-297	ø	s	+	+	II,156-57/nt.3
116	II,217/3	431	297-300	Dj	m	+	+	II,212-13/nt.1
117	II,237/16	436	300-303	ø	m	+	?	?
118	II,259/17	453	303-304	ø	m	+	-	II,97-98/nt.5
119	II,264/14	460	304-306	ø	m	+	?	?
120	II,275/5	473	306-307	ø	m	+	?	?
121	II,315/21	500	307-309	ø	m	+	?	?
122	II,331/22	508	309-313	ø	s	?	?	?
123	II,343/18	508	313-316	ø	s	+	+	I,182-83/nt.4
124	II,357/12	512	316-318	ø	m	+	?	?
125	II,357/15	512	318	ø	m	+	?	?
126	II,367/12	519	318-319	ø	m	+	?	?
127	II,382/19	526	319-321	AZ	m	+	?	?
128	II,393/4	531	321-324	M	m	+	+	I,231
129	II,393/13	532	324-325	ø	m	+	-	I,230
130	II,438/11	557	325-329	M	m	+	?	?
131	II,438/13	557	329-330	Dj	m	+	?	?
132	II,461/3	567	330	ø	m	+	-	I,352/nt.1

133	II,463/1	567	331-333	ø	m	+	?	?
134	II,480/3	571	333-334	ø	m	+	?	?

LIST OF OVERLAPPING ITEMS FROM THE DERENBOURG  
EDITION OF THE *Kitâb Sibawayh* AND THE *MS. IBN WALLÂD*

Column 1: pagination of the *Kitâb Sibawayh*; column 2: the grammarians from whom the marginal notes are; column 3: corresponding *mas'ala* from the *ms. Ibn Wallâd*.

<i>KS</i>	comments from	<i>ms. I.W.</i>
I,37	al-Akhfash	10
I,43	al-Akhfash	11
I,47	al-Djarmî	13
I,59	al-Akhfash	17
I,69	al-Djarmî	3, 19
I,74	al-Akhfash, al-Mubarrad	21
I,76	al-Mubarrad	21
I,79	al-Akhfash, al-Djarmî, al-Mâzinî	22
I,88	al-Mâzinî	23
I,186	al-Mâzinî	43, 44
I,314	al-Mâzinî	67, 68
I,319	al-Mâzinî	69
I,324	al-Mâzinî	70
I,163	al-Akhfash	38
I,370-72	al-Akhfash, al-Mubarrad	73
I,405	al-Mâzinî	80
II,57	al-Akhfash	91, 92
II,82-83	al-Akhfash, al-Djarmî	95
II,86	al-Akhfash, al-Djarmî	96
II,331	al-Akhfash	122
II,463	al-Akhfash, Abû Naṣr	133

EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO SĪBAWAYH IN AL-MUBARRAD'S  
*MUQTADAB*

Column 1: pagination of the *Muqtaḍab*; column 2: corresponding *mas'ala* from the *ms. Ibn Wallād*; column 3: grammatical category in which the problem under discussion comes (s = syntax; m = morpho-phonology); column 4: al-Mubarrad's critical position (critical attitude ( + ); non-critical or neutral attitude ( - )).

<i>Muqtaḍab</i>	Ms. I. W.	<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Pos.</i>
I,243/4		m	—
I,248/4		m	—
I,285/2	128	m	+
I,289/8		m	—
I,343/10		m	—
I,344/2, 8		m	—
I,351/5		m	—
I,355/12		m	—
I,356/3		m	—
I,401/10		m	—
II,18/2		s	+
II,67/1	72	s	+
II,83/6		s	+
II,114/15	13	s	+
II,125/15		m	—
II,131/4		ø	—
II,151/9	1	s	+
II,178/7		s	—
II,189/6		m	—
II,233/7	99	m	+
II,245/4	101	m	—
II,251/4	99	m	+

II,260/12	102	m	+
II,262/1	103	m	-
II,276/2	108	m	+
II,283/9		m	-
II,289/1	109	m	+
II,303/9	10	s	-
II,309/11	10	s	-
II,345/10		s	-
II,356/1	81	s	+
II,359/9	28	s	-
III,8/3		s	+
III,36/3	23	s	+
III,71/1		s	+
III,133/10		m	-
III,152/10	95	m	-
III,153/3		m	+
III,156/10	95	m	-
III,182/1		m	-
III,200/1, 13		s	-
III,252/3	39	s	+
III,258/8		s	-
III,272/11		s	-
III,277/19		s	-
III,351/5		s	-
III,377/15		s	-
III,379/2		s	-
III,384/6, 9		m	-
IV,196/8		s	+
IV,212/2		s	-
IV,237/3ff		s	+
IV,240/3	110	m	-
IV,284/5		s	-
IV,315/1		s	+
IV,320/7	51	s	-
IV,366/1	66	s	+
IV,382/15	67	s	-
IV,399/15ff	68	s	-



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## SAMENVATTING

De Arabische grammaticale traditie laat zich zonder veel moeite reconstrueren vanaf de tijd van Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad (210/826-285/898). Uit de nalatenschap van deze geleerde hebben we onder andere een uitgebreide studie over de Arabische grammatica. Daarnaast beschikken we over verschillende grammaticale werken die stammen uit de tijd van ná al-Mubarrad. Bij elkaar genomen geven deze werken ons een vrij precies beeld van de ontwikkeling van de Arabische taalkundige traditie vanaf de derde/negende eeuw.

Deze traditie heeft twee bijzondere kenmerken. Ten eerste staat in alle Arabische taalkundige studies één enkel boek centraal. Dit boek dateert van het einde van de tweede/achtste eeuw en is van de hand van de Perzische grammaticus Sībawayh. Het was waarschijnlijk het eerste Arabische grammaticale werk waarin alle belangrijke morfologische en syntactische aspecten van de taal werden behandeld. Om die reden verwezen de Arabische grammatici naar dit werk met de simpele aanduiding “het boek” of “Sībawayh’s boek”: *Kitāb Sībawayh*.

Het grammaticale systeem dat Sībawayh gebruikte en ontwikkelde werd de basis voor alle latere grammaticale studies. De continuïteit tussen Sībawayh aan de ene kant en de latere grammatici aan de andere doet vermoeden dat het boek vanaf het allereerste begin werd gezien als de Arabische grammatica bij uitstek, waaraan niets hoefde te worden toegevoegd en waaraan niets te bekritisieren viel.

Het tweede aspect waardoor de Arabische taalkundige traditie wordt gekenmerkt is het feit dat in de overleveringen steeds wordt benadrukt dat er twee afzonderlijke grammaticale scholen waren. In Sībawayh’s tijd werd Arabische grammatica voornamelijk bedreven in de Iraakse steden Basra en Kufa. Deze twee wetenschapscentra worden traditioneel beschouwd als rivaliserende scholen; Sībawayh zou de Basrische school hebben opgericht.

Vanaf de tweede helft van de derde/negende eeuw verschoof het centrum van wetenschappelijke activiteiten naar de nieuwe hoofdstad van het Islamitische rijk, Bagdad. Ook de taalkunde verhuisde. Zowel al-Mubarrad, die gezien wordt als een vertegenwoordiger van de Basrische school, als zijn “Kufische” tijdgenoot Tha’lab, leefden en werkten in Bagdad. Daar vloeiden volgens de Arabische traditie de twee scholen in elkaar over en ontstond een nieuwe grammaticale school.

De twee genoemde aspecten die de Arabische grammaticale traditie kenmerken komen naar voren uit de teksten die dateren van ná al-Mu-

barrad en Tha'lab. De relatief weinig teksten die we hebben van vóór die tijd geven echter aanleiding om te twifelen aan de juistheid van dit beeld. Om tot een reconstructie van de vroegere periode te komen – van de periode tussen de dood van Sībawayh en die van al-Mubarrad en Tha'lab – heb ik in mijn onderzoek twee vragen centraal gesteld: (1) Hoe werd het boek van Sībawayh door de vroege grammatici ontvangen en becommentarieerd en (2) is de idee van een scheiding tussen twee rivaliserende scholen gebaseerd op “historische realiteit”?

Het eerste deel van de onderhavige studie is gewijd aan achtergrondinformatie en aan de formulering van een werkhypothese.

Eerst werden de meest gangbare westerse theorieën over het belang van Sībawayh's boek en over de scholen van Basra en Kufa naast elkaar gezet. Hieruit is gebleken dat er nogal wat onenigheid bestaat onder de geleerden, vooral over de vermeende schoolvorming. Sommigen zijn van mening dat de scholen van Basra en Kufa nooit hebben bestaan, maar in de tijd dat grammatica voornamelijk werd bedreven in Bagdad zijn verzonnen om meningsverschillen tussen de Bagdaadse grammatici onderling van een kader te voorzien. Anderen gaan er juist vanuit dat de verschillen tussen een Basrische en een Kufische grammatica pas zijn ontstaan nadat de taalkunde was verhuisd naar Bagdad. En weer anderen zijn de mening toegedaan dat er wel degelijk twee verschillende scholen waren in de vroege periode, maar dat de Basrische school erin is geslaagd de Kufische geheel te overvleugelen.

Kenmerkend voor de discussie, die aan het begin van deze eeuw werd aangezwengeld en nog steeds regelmatig volop aandacht krijgt, is het feit dat geen van de deelnemers ooit heeft gedefinieerd wat een “school” eigenlijk is. Het leek mij daarom zinvol om hierin duidelijkheid te scheppen, alvorens me met de discussie te gaan bemoeien.

Uit de impliciete noties over school die in de verschillende studies te vinden waren, kwam naar voren dat in een definitie van “school” zowel methodologische als sociale aspecten dienden te worden opgenomen. Als alleen de sociale aspecten, zoals geografische en academische afkomst, in aanmerking worden genomen, moet geconcludeerd worden dat er beslist twee scholen zijn geweest. Daarover is iedereen het ook eens. De discussie gaat echter niet over het al of niet bestaan van grammatici uit Basra of uit Kufa; de essentie van de discussie ligt in de veronderstelde methodologische verschillen tussen Basrische en Kufische grammatici.

Methodologische verschillen kunnen alleen aan het licht worden gebracht door bestudering van grammaticale teksten. Jonathan Owens (1990; 1991) beweert dan ook op basis van een grammaticaal inhoudelijke studie dat er voor de tweede helft van de derde/negende eeuw geen sprake was van twee methodologisch van elkaar verschillende scholen.

Vervolgens werd bestudeerd hoe Arabische grammatici en historici refereren naar Sībawayh's boek en de schoolvorming.

Uit dit deel van het onderzoek bleek dat men pas in de tweede helft van de derde/negende eeuw begon te verwijzen naar Sībawayh en zijn boek. De eerste verwijzingen naar Basriërs en Kufiërs stammen uit deze zelfde periode: ze werden gevonden in de werken van al-Mubarrad en Tha'lab.

Vanaf het begin van de vierde/tiende eeuw zien we het aantal verwijzingen naar Basriërs en Kufiërs aanmerkelijk groter worden. De term *madhāhib* wordt geïntroduceerd om grammaticale methoden aan te duiden en men krijgt soms de indruk dat er twee duidelijk verschillende *madhāhib* zijn: een Basrische en een Kufische. Tegelijkertijd zien we dat de reputatie van Sībawayh's boek onomstotelijk vaststaat; het is niet meer weg te denken uit de Arabische taalkundige traditie.

De inleiding op deze ontwikkeling moet plaats hebben gehad in de tijd van al-Mubarrad en Tha'lab. Bij het zoeken naar een antwoord op mijn twee vragen — hoe verliep de receptie van Sībawayh's boek en bestonden er werkelijk twee afzonderlijke grammaticale scholen in de vroege periode — heb ik al-Mubarrad centraal gezet.

Deze grammaticus was een van de weinigen die een kritisch commentaar op het boek van Sībawayh schreven. In zijn *Radd 'alā Kitāb Sībawayh*, "Weerlegging van Sībawayh's boek" bracht al-Mubarrad ruim honderddertig grammaticale onderwerpen naar voren waarover hij van mening verschilde met zijn voorganger. Volgens de overleveringen trok hij later in zijn leven de meeste van deze kritiekpunten weer in. Vervolgens werd hij een van de belangrijkste overlevertaars van Sībawayh's boek. Bovendien schreef hij een biografisch werk over de grammatici van Basra.

Dit alles wees er mijns inziens op dat al-Mubarrad een belangrijke rol speelde in de receptie van het boek van Sībawayh en in de ontwikkeling van een specifiek Basrische traditie.

Mijn volgende stap was me een beeld te vormen van al-Mubarrad's persoonlijke leven en van de intellectuele omgeving waarin hij werkzaam was — zoals overgeleverd door de historische en biografische bronnen.

Al-Mubarrad leefde en werkte in de tijd waarin de rationalistische ideeën die kenmerkend waren voor de Mu'tazilische stroming werden overvleugeld door traditionalisme. Dit had grote invloed op de ontwikkeling van het intellectuele milieu. Deze invloed uitte zich onder andere in de manier waarop de scheiding tussen de Islamitische wetenschappen enerzijds en de klassieke wetenschappen — geïntroduceerd in de Islam door de kennisneming van Griekse wetenschappelijke werken die op grote schaal werden vertaald in die tijd — anderzijds strikter werd dan ooit te-

voren. Grammatica was altijd al een Islamitische wetenschap, maar omvatte ook rationalistische elementen. Het aanzien van taalkundige studies was daarom in het geding.

Op basis van de zojuist beschreven onderzoeksresultaten heb ik mijn werkhypothese dan ook als volgt geformuleerd. Al-Mubarrad trok zijn oorspronkelijke kritiek in en erkende aldus de onaantastbare autoriteit van Sībawayh's boek om de grammaticawetenschap een passend aanzien te geven; hij benadrukte zijn eigen Basrische identiteit en legitimeerde zijn positie door te verwijzen naar een lange en diepgewortelde traditie.

Ter bevestiging of weerlegging van deze werkhypothese werd een aantal grammaticale teksten bestudeerd. In dit deel van het onderzoek stonden de volgende vragen centraal: Was al-Mubarrads kritiek op Sībawayh origineel, of volgde hij de ideeën van zijn leermeesters en voorgangers? En in hoeverre veranderde al-Mubarrad van mening in de loop van zijn leven? De belangrijkste bron voor het onderzoek naar al-Mubarrads grammaticale positie was zijn "Weerlegging van Sībawayh's boek".

Dit werk werd ons overgeleverd door de vierde/tiende eeuwse Egyptische grammaticus Ahmad b. Wallâd. In zijn *Intiṣâr*, "Verdediging" – een werk dat onderdeel uitmaakt van de manuscriptencollectie van de *Dâr al-Kutub* in Cairo – nam Ibn Wallâd het op voor Sībawayh en verdedigde hem tegen de kritiek van al-Mubarrad. Zijn commentaar is traditioneel van opzet en dat betekent dat de schrijver de oorspronkelijke tekst van al-Mubarrads *Radd 'alâ Kitâb Sībawayh* eerst letterlijk citeert alvorens tot commentaar over te gaan.

Ik heb uit het manuscript van Ibn Wallâds tekst de oorspronkelijke kritiekpunten van al-Mubarrad geïnventariseerd en een korte beschrijving gemaakt van de grammaticale problemen die erin worden behandeld. Vervolgens heb ik de passages uit het boek van Sībawayh waarop het commentaar betrekking heeft erbij gehaald en bepaald welke positie al-Mubarrad inneemt in zijn weerlegging. Daarbij heb ik ook aandacht besteed aan de voorgangers en collega's van al-Mubarrad wiens mening hij zelf naar voren brengt. Deze gegevens, die zijn opgenomen appendices, vormden de ruggegraat van het onderzoek naar de originaliteit van al-Mubarrad's commentaar en de ontwikkeling van zijn grammaticale positie.

Om de originaliteit van al-Mubarrads kritiekpunten te bepalen werden bovengenoemde gegevens vergeleken met margecommentaren op Sībawayh's boek van een aantal van al-Mubarrads voorgangers. De margeaantekeningen die hiervoor gebruikt zijn, zijn afkomstig uit de annotatie van Derenbourgs editie van het *Kitâb Sībawayh* en zijn toegeschreven aan al-Akhfash, de eerste overleveraar van Sībawayh, en aan al-Djarmî en al-Mâzinî, beiden leraren van al-Mubarrad.



Vervolgens werd de ontwikkeling van al-Mubarrads positie bepaald aan de hand van een vergelijking van zijn oorspronkelijke kritiek met zijn ideeën over dezelfde of soortgelijke grammaticale onderwerpen zoals naar voren gebracht in zijn belangrijkste grammaticale werk, de *Muqtaḍab*.

Deze vergelijkingen leverden een paar duidelijke antwoorden op. De kritiek die al-Mubarrad uitte in zijn weerlegging van Sībawayhs boek werd voor een kleine 40% ook al door zijn voorgangers geformuleerd. Bovendien trok hij ruim 60% van zijn kritiekpunten later weer in. Het grootste deel van de kritiek die hij terugtrok behoorde tot de categorie van punten die origineel van hemzelf afkomstig waren.

Uit de vergelijking met de *Muqtaḍab* bleek echter ook dat al-Mubarrad niet alleen oude, uit de weerlegging bekende kritiekpunten handhaafde, maar hier en daar weer nieuwe formuleerde. Hieruit valt op te maken dat ofschoon al-Mubarrad zich geleidelijk meer en meer richtte naar Sībawayh, hij diens ideeën niet geheel en al kritiekloos onderschreef.

Deze conclusies werden vervolgens geïllustreerd met een gedetailleerde analyse van vijf grammaticale problemen. Daarin werden niet alleen de theorieën en achterliggende argumentaties van Sībawayh, al-Mubarrad en diens voorgangers uitgewerkt, maar ook waar mogelijk een vergelijking gemaakt met de ideeën van latere grammatici.

Hieruit bleek dat de ontwikkeling van al-Mubarrads grammaticale positie niet algemeen bekend was in de latere traditie. Sommige grammatici wisten dat Sībawayh kritisch becommentarieerd was, maar wisten niet door wie. Anderen waren ervan op de hoogte dat de kritiek afkomstig was van al-Mubarrad, maar wisten niet dat hij van mening was veranderd. Bovendien werden hem soms ook punten van kritiek toegeschreven die in zijn weerlegging of in de *Muqtaḍab* niet zijn terug te vinden.

In het licht van het feit dat al-Mubarrad, ondanks zijn kritische houding, toch een belangrijke schakel in de overleveringslijn van Sībawayhs boek werd en in aanmerking genomen dat de terugtrekking van zijn kritiek amper indruk heeft gemaakt op de latere grammaticale traditie, werd de volgende conclusie geformuleerd. Al-Mubarrad was de sleutelfiguur in het proces van de receptie van Sībawayhs boek. Door kritiek te leveren op de ideeën van Sībawayh en, hoe tegenstrijdig het ook moge klinken, niet door deze kritiek terug te trekken, speelde hij een actieve rol in dit proces. Al-Mubarrad richtte de aandacht van de grammatici op obscure en moeilijke passages in Sībawayhs boek. Hij identificeerde misvattingen, maakte vragen expliciet en droeg alternatieven aan. Op die manier plaveide hij de weg naar een beter begrip van Sībawayhs ideeën en vervolgens naar de onomstotelijke erkenning van "het boek".

Een tweede conclusie op basis van het onderzoek naar al-Mubarrads grammaticale positie betreft de veronderstelde schoolvorming. Uit de analyses bleek dat er meningsverschillen waren tussen de Basriër Sîbawayh en de Kufiër al-Farrâ'. Hun ideeën kwamen echter ook vaak met elkaar overeen. Bovendien werden behoorlijk veel meningsverschillen tussen Sîbawayh en al-Mubarrad geïdentificeerd, terwijl toch beide grammatici tot de Basrische school worden gerekend. Het onderhavige onderzoek geeft daarom geen enkele steun aan de overtuiging dat er in de vroege periode een onderscheid was tussen twee rivaliserende grammaticale scholen in de zin van de eerder onderschreven definitie – waarin zowel methodologische als sociale aspecten zijn opgenomen.

We kunnen echter vaststellen dat de sociale aspecten van geografische afkomst en academische achtergrond wel een rol hebben gespeeld in de manier waarop al-Mubarrad zich als grammaticus heeft geprofileerd. Het feit dat de ontwikkeling van zijn grammaticale positie een duidelijke invloed van zijn leermeesters verraadt, wijst erop dat hij deel van een “traditie” was. Al-Mubarrad steunde op de theorieën van Sîbawayh en verwees in zijn verhandelingen alleen naar zijn leermeesters. Andere grammatici werden niet vermeld. Het leek een trend van zijn tijd om alleen naar eigen leraren te verwijzen en geleerden met een andere academische achtergrond te negeren.

Het belang van de vaststelling van afkomst en achtergrond werd ingegeven door de volgende twee elementen: de organisatie van de maatschappij in die tijd en de manier waarop kennis werd overgedragen.

Eeuwenlang was de Arabische samenleving georganiseerd in stamverband. Dit systeem was drastisch veranderd door de Islamitische veroveringen en de daarmee gepaard gaande verstedelijking. De basis van het systeem was echter niet verdwenen: nog altijd vereenzelvigde een individu zich met de stam waartoe hij behoorde.

Kennisoverdracht, het tweede element, was gebaseerd op het principe van mondelinge overlevering. Alleen informatie die persoonlijk was overgeleverd werd in de Islamitische wetenschappen als volkomen betrouwbaar beschouwd. Daarom was het vermelden van gezaghebbende bronnen heel belangrijk.

In de loop van de tijd was door deze manier van kennisoverdracht een wirwar van namen ontstaan. Om in deze chaos orde te brengen gingen de Arabische historiografen en biografen hun informatie classificeren en categoriseren. Volgens oude Arabische gewoonte identificeerden zij de individuele gelcerde met een groep en classificeerde hem op basis van geografische afkomst of academische achtergrond.

Al-Mubarrad paste dit “categoriserings-principe” toe, toen hij zijn grammaticale biografie schreef. Voor zover wij weten nam hij in dit werk

alleen Basrische grammatici op. De noodzaak om zich te vereenzelvigen met een groep van grammatici en zijn positie te legitimeren door terug te verwijzen naar een lange reeks van gezaghebbende namen was ingebed in de oude Arabische cultuur van stamverbanden en in de wijze waarop binnen de wetenschappelijke traditie kennis werd overgedragen. Het was waarschijnlijk de combinatie van de grammaticus en de biograaf in één persoon die maakte dat al-Mubarrad de sleutelfiguur werd in de ontwikkeling van de Arabische taalkundige traditie.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

- 1957 Geboren in Gassel, gemeente Beers
- 1970-1976 Gymnasium alpha, Kruisherencollege Uden
- 1976-1985 Studie Arabisch, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen
- 1981 Kandidaats Arabisch, Nieuwperzisch, Turks. Hoofdvak Arabisch, bijvakken Turks en Osmaans
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